

LUTHERAN WORLD

**PUBLICATION OF THE
LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION**

JUNE

1958

Vol. V, No. 1

CHURCH, STATE AND SOCIETY

— A PROTESTANT VIEW

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CHURCH, STATE AND SOCIETY

— A ROMAN CATHOLIC VIEW

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AMERICAN ROMAN CATHOLICISM

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RECENT STUDIES OF THOMAS

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LITERATURE SURVEY

A REVIEW OF RECENT THEOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS

PUBLISHED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF THEOLOGY OF THE LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION

No. 2

1958

Biblical Theology

ADAM OCH EVA. *En studie i biblisk äktenskapssyn [Adam and Eve. A Study of the Biblical Concept of Marriage]*. By Olov Hartman. Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelses bokförlag, 1957. 63 pp., S. Kr. 4.00.

The aim of the author is to extricate theological discussion on marriage and sexual love from the alternative of biblicistic legalism or a general humanistic view. On the basis of the biblical testimony he shows in what mighty *heilgeschichtlich* perspectives marriage is to be viewed. According to the biblical account of creation the image of God in man is consummated, in the first place, in the love that leads two to become one; God himself is, according to his nature, love — love as the expression of the inner-trinitarian relationship. In that the self-assertive "I" renounced the archetypal love in the Fall, it is again the victim of loneliness. Yet the conditions laid down at creation remain; the impulse for two to become one continues, but now under the compulsion and the protection of law; by itself this impulse does not deliver man from his discord and confusion and lead him back to paradise, but it is "prophetic" in pointing beyond itself to the way which God himself in his love takes to man. In the work of salvation Jesus first restores the defaced picture of woman. Man's deepest longing — return to fellowship with God — is fulfilled by the second Adam by his sacrifice on behalf of his "bride," the church. Christ's means of uniting himself with the church — preaching, baptism, Holy Communion — are all in some way marked by marriage symbolism. Yet above and beyond its symbolic character, Christian marriage — encompassed by those

life processes of the church, the word and sacraments — itself embodies, in part, Christ's fellowship with his church. In heaven the image of God's love in man will finally be fully restored, now no longer in the man and wife relationship but in the relationship of Christ to the oneness of the redeemed.

DAS VOLK GOTTES IM ALTEN TESTAMENT [*The People of God in the Old Testament*]. By Hans Joachim Kraus. Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1958. 79 pp., DM 4.80.

In recent years a number of shorter studies, commissioned by the International Missionary Council, have appeared (in English); they are intended primarily to assist pastors and missionaries in the younger churches in continuing their studies. H. J. Kraus, professor of Old Testament at the University of Hamburg, here offers his contribution (in German) to this series, a study of a particular Old Testament problem which is at the same time also a New Testament problem. He traces the history of the people of God through the whole Old Testament, from the call of Abraham to the exile. He takes special cognizance of the message of the prophets. This is followed by a delineation of the concept of the new people of God, the Christian church, which, as he says, can live only with its roots in the Old Testament. He shows further how the Old Testament concept of the people of God must be interpreted in the light of the New Testament.

Historical Theology

JOANNIS CALVINI: OPERA SELECTA [*Selected Works of John Calvin*]. Edited by Peter Barth and Wilhelm Niesel. Munich: Christian Kaiser Verlag, 1957. 517 pp.

Already before the war the Christian Kaiser publishing house had brought out an edition of the most important works of John Calvin (the Clemens edition of Luther is the parallel for the Lutheran Reformation). The second, revised edition is now appearing; the present volume is Calvin's second edition (1559) of his chief work, the *Institutes*. A lengthy forward (in Latin) gives particulars on the various editions of the *Institutes* between 1536 and 1559 and on the Latin or French printings of parts of the work. The present edition is based upon manuscript material but also takes account of Stephan's first printing. A detailed listing of source material on contemporary writings and a bibliography of books on the *Institutes* are helpful.

FIDES EX AUDITU. *Eine Untersuchung über die Entdeckung der Gerechtigkeit Gottes durch Martin Luther [Faith by Hearing. A Study of Luther's Discovery of the Meaning of the Righteousness of God].* By Ernst Bizer. Neukirchen/Moers: Buchhandlung des Erziehungsvereins, 1958. 160 pp., DM 14.70.

On the basis of a thorough examination of some of Luther's early writings and of source material bearing on the history of the beginnings of the Reformation, the author attempts to date and determine more closely the so-called reformatory revolution. He proceeds from the premise that this revolution is to be found in Luther's discovery of the meaning of the righteousness of God; according to the author this discovery is the actual reformatory element in the Reformation. It is above all in his exposition of Hebrews, says Bizer, that Luther came to a new conception of the righteousness of God and thus to a new approach to the work of Christ and to the sacraments. He establishes that this new discovery is to be dated somewhere around the beginning of 1518, i.e., after the posting of the 95 theses. It is from this viewpoint that he investigates, in closing, Luther's own statements on the matter in 1545 and the *Operationes in Psalmos*. The theological significance of Luther's discovery, says the author, extends "to his certainty of salvation, his stand on the papacy, his view of the sacraments and his distinction between law and gospel."

DIE CHRISTOLOGIE IN LUTHERS LIEDERN [*Christology in Luther's Hymns*].

By Klaus Bubba. Gütersloh: Carl Bertelsmann Verlag, 1957. 72 pp.

This study is a good survey of Luther's activity in composing hymns; the author shows how much the Reformer was informed by his christology, also in this area. In 1523 and 1524 Luther's struggle with the Enthusiasts still has to be taken into account. The author then listens to the hymns of the years 1525-1545 "with an ear to their confession of Christ," with the following division as the result: "Jesus Christ, the Lord of Sabaoth" and "The Singing Church in the Service of the Lord of Sabaoth." Finally, the author discusses the hymn as an expression of the Lordship of Jesus Christ. Here Luther's later Christmas hymns are examined alongside his last hymns and the Lord's Prayer hymn. The real fruit of this study might well be that it calls attention to the importance and significance of baptism, as expressed in his hymns, for his christology. Already in his battle with the Enthusiasts he is concerned about maintaining the baptismal heritage against the Anabaptists. If the early hymns have more of a confessional character, then in the later ones no distinction can be made between proclamation and confession of faith.

LUTHER, WIE ER WIRKLICH WAR [*Luther as he Really Was*]. By Leon Cristiani and Daniel-Rops. Stuttgart: Schwabenverlag, 1957. 280 pp., DM 10.80.

Hans Asmussen has written the preface to this Roman Catholic book on Luther, the original edition of which appeared in France in 1955 with the title *Luther tel qu'il fut*. Cristiani, a canon law expert well known in France, has here assembled no small number of selections from Luther; and Daniel-Rops has written a comprehensive introduction and included the book in the series he edits entitled *Textes pour l'Histoire sacrée*. The book bears the imprimatur of the Roman church. Daniel-Rops says in his introduction that the book could constitute a contribution to that "pilgrimage for unity" which "is laid upon the conscience of Christians in view of many considerable dangers" threatening us. The Luther selections are arranged in six groups: (1) the young monk and professor, (2) the great struggles, (3) the great controversies, (4) organizing the Lutheran church, (5) the Table

Talks — Luther's private life and (6) Luther as seen by his contemporaries. A number of the most important selections from Luther's chief writings and letters are included; Cristiani has assembled those which would give a picture of Luther. For Protestant theologians, teachers and lay people the book can be quite interesting and highly instructive, with its limited selection and its one-sided commentary.

LUTHER-JAHRBUCH 1958 [*Luther Annual, 1958*]. Edited by Franz Lau. Berlin : Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1958. 213 pp.

This Luther annual, which is now appearing for the second time since the war, is dedicated to the president of the Luther Society, Professor Paul Althaus, on the occasion of his 70th birthday. The eight contributions deal with various historical and theological questions and problems in the history of theology. Among them are a study by H. Bornkamm on "Erasmus and Luther," one by Franz Lau on the question of conditional baptism in the Lutheran church, a contribution by O. Thulin on one of Lucas Cranach's paintings and an investigation by W. Maurer of the composition of Melancthon's *Loci* in which he draws some conclusions on the relation between Melancthon and Luther. Other contributions are by F. Hesse, H. Gerdes, K. Tuchel and H. Baxter. Reviews of the most important publications in Luther research and a Luther bibliography for 1955 complete the volume.

RATIO UND FIDES. *Eine Untersuchung über die Ratio in der Theologie Luthers [Faith and Reason. A Study of Reason in the Theology of Luther]*. By Bernhard Lohse. Göttingen : Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1958. 141 pp., DM 13.50.

This work is Lohse's inaugural dissertation at the University of Hamburg. It is dedicated to a problem which he believes has received too little attention, the problem of reason in Luther's theology. In the first part he looks at the development of Luther's views on this question, and, in the second part, gives a systematic presentation of these views. He derives from his comprehensive source material the thoroughly ambivalent character of Luther's pronouncements on reason. His primary concern is to do away with the still widely held opinion that Luther

regarded reason and the use of reason only in a negative light.

MARTIN LUTERO : SCRITTI RELIGIOSI [*Martin Luther : Religious Writings*]. Edited by Valdo Vinay and Giovanni Miegge. Bari : Editori Laterza, 1958. 468 pp., lire 3600.

The editors, professors at the Waldensian seminary in Rome, have both published contributions to Luther research previously, in Italian. Their aim here is to make the most well-known and most important writings of Luther available in Italian. With their present selection they want to show Luther as an expositor of Scripture and a polemicist. At the same time they want to incite to new study of Luther among both Roman Catholics and Protestants now that a change in the Roman Catholic view of Luther has set in with Lortz, Hessen, Herte and Bendiscioli. Brief historical introductions are attached to each of the writings. The book contains the following: "The Ninety-five Theses," "Sermon on the Holy Sacrament of Baptism," "Sermon on the Holy, True Body of Christ," "Treatise on Good Works," "The Magnificat," a selection of sermons on the Gospels from the *Kirchenpostille*, "The Right and Power of A Christian Community to Judge all Teaching, etc.," and the Small Catechism. An introduction to Luther's life and work and a select bibliography complete the volume.

RELIGIONERNA I HISTORIA OCH NUTID [*Religions in Past and Present*]. By Helmer Ringgren and Åke V. Strom. Stockholm : Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelses bokförlag, 1957. 446 pp., S. Kr. 34.00.

The two authors, theologians and professors of the history of religions at the University of Uppsala, have produced a textbook for the history of religions which in many respects — e. g. in the effort to let the sources speak for themselves — can be compared to the work on the same subject by Gustav Mensching. Since the book is intended mainly for students of theology there is no presentation of pre-exilic Judaism and of Christianity. The book is arranged according to the great spheres of culture—Near Eastern, Aryan, Far Eastern and the so-called non-literary cultures (especially the original inhabitants of Africa and Australia) — and offers a quite complete picture of

the religions of the world, with special attention to the life and piety and the effects of religion upon morality. The closing sections, devoted to the modern development, accommodation and transformation of the living religions of today, are of special interest. Comparisons of the religions is made easier by the fact that the chapters are arranged according to a pattern, with a brief introduction to the historical foundations and historical sources of the particular religion followed by a discussion of the god(s), doctrine, mythology, worship, piety, ethics and teaching on death and life after death; a listing of the most important books on the particular religion concludes the chapter. The discussion of the individual religions is preceded by an introductory section on the fundamentals of the study of the history of religions, which also emphasizes the purely scientific and impartial character of the work.

DIE EVANGELISCHEN KIRCHEN-ORDNUNGEN DES 16. JAHRHUNDERTS, Band 6 [*The Protestant Church Orders of the Sixteenth Century, Vol. 6*]. Edited by Ernst Sehling. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1957. 532 pp., DM 40.00.

When Richter's old editions of the Reformation church orders no longer proved reliable, Ernst Sehling at the beginning of this century began work on a new edition of the church orders of the 16th century. He proceeded according to geographical areas but did not get beyond the fifth volume. The Institute for Protestant Church Law and Polity has now undertaken to carry on Sehling's work, the purpose being to offer a trustworthy edition of the primary sources which would be compatible with the demands of modern scholarship. Sehling's principles are being adhered to as well as his division of the work according to geographical areas. The sixth volume contains the church orders of Saxony, part of which have already been published in a half-volume in 1955. This second half-volume includes the orders of Calenberg and Göttingen, Grubenhagen, individual towns under the jurisdiction of the Welf dynasty and others lying in the countships of Hoya and Diepholz. The present editions are particularly valuable since they include the handiwork of Corvinus and U. Regius and since the orders for Calenberg are of great significance for the

liturgical history of the 16th century. A supplement treats the history of the free imperial monastery of Loccum, with some selections from historical documents included.

URKUNDEN UND AKTENSTÜCKE ZUR GESCHICHTE VON MARTIN LUTHERS SCHMALKALDISCHEN ARTIKELN (1536-1574) [*Documents on the History of the Smalcald Articles (1536-1574)*]. Edited by Hans Volz. Berlin: Verlag Walter de Gruyter, 1957. 234 pp., DM 19.50.

The series *Kleine Texte*, established by the great church historian Hans Lietzmann, has as its aim the publication in convenient form of some of the briefer and no longer readily available primary sources from the whole history of the church. These editions, varied in scope and size, are intended to promote the cause of historical research but also to serve as textbooks in classrooms and seminars. On the basis of source material — some of it hitherto unpublished — the present volume seeks to throw light upon the origin of the Smalcald Articles which were intended as a confession preliminary to an ecumenical council. They had, writes the editor, a varied history until their inclusion in the Book of Concord made them a confession of the Lutheran church. This is the ground which the book covers, from the origin of the articles to their reception as a confession, with special emphasis upon the former. The documents are arranged as follows: "The Proclamation of the Council and the Elector's Proposal to Luther," "The Writing of the Articles and the Wittenberg Conference of Theologians," "The Proclamation of the Diet and the Stand of the Elector," "The Diet," "The Publication of the Articles and their Reception by the Adversaries" and "From Articles to Confession." A comprehensive apparatus gives not only variant readings from other manuscripts or printings but also lengthy historical notes, interpretations and references. The editor is one of the editors of the Weimar edition of Luther.

Systematic Theology

DAS SAKRAMENT [*The "Sacrament"*]. By Hans Asmussen. Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk, 1957. 116 pp., DM 6.40.

The author, known above all for his mediating efforts between the Roman Catholic and the Lutheran churches, has reworked three lectures on the theme "Sacrament." His point of departure is that "sacrament" is the translation of the Greek word *mysterion* and in present-day usage is only a partial reproduction of the original meaning of the Greek concept. The sacraments must therefore be regarded in close relationship with the reality of Jesus Christ and his incarnation. The sacraments are the place in which this mystery, which is Christ, confronts us so that we are granted a new understanding of ourselves, a new consciousness, and thing and person enter into a new relationship with one another. Asmussen seeks to proceed more from an ontological than a soteriological approach to christology. In view of the fact that in pre-Tridentine Catholicism and in the Reformation the number of sacraments are not definitely fixed at seven and two, respectively, Asmussen attempts to widen his concept of sacrament in comparison to the classical Lutheran definition. He does this by, among other things, ignoring the traditional constituent factors in the idea of a sacrament. There is a close and mutual relationship between sacrament and word since a sacrament can be mute as little as the word can be non-sacramental. With these premises set forth Asmussen then investigates, in the context of what he calls sacrament in the wider sense (i. e., that place where the mystery that is Christ confronts us), baptism, the Lord's Supper, confirmation, "confession, atonement and absolution" and ordination. He investigates for each the three factors: (1) the new mode of being, (2) the new word, and (3) the new relation between thing and person. A short study at the end, on the church and marriage, is intended to show to what extent both can be called "mystery," seeing that in the New Testament they are termed mysteries in a contrasting sense to the actual sacraments.

DIE KATHOLIZITÄT DER KIRCHE.

Beiträge zum Gespräch zwischen der evangelischen und der römisch-katholischen Kirche [The Catholicity of the Church. Contributions to the Dialogue between the Protestant and the Roman Catholic Churches]. Edited by Hans Asmussen and Rudolf Stählin. Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk, 1957. 392 pp., DM 19.80.

This volume brings together contributions on the most diverse themes by authors of diverse theological orientation, with the purpose of doing justice to a responsibility of the Protestant church that is common to all in the midst of diversity — dialogue and argument with the Roman Catholic Church. The collection of essays centers upon the subjects of particular interest in today's discussions with the Roman Catholic Church, e. g., Scripture and tradition, a problem as yet unsettled also in the Protestant church, or questions on the concept of history or the discussion on the ministry and order of the church. The conclusion, which is at the same time a résumé looking forward to actual dialogue with the Roman church, is by Hans Asmussen and is entitled "Five Questions Addressed to the Roman Catholic Church," their purport being, How does the Roman Catholic Church conceive of its Protestant counterpart? Ernst Kinder has a long essay on the problem of tradition ("Scripture and Tradition") in which he not only calls in question the Roman concept of tradition but also that of Protestantism which though anti-traditional in theory is yet bound to tradition in practice; the essay seeks to bring Protestantism to a revision of its thinking and to lay some foundations for a Protestant appreciation of tradition. Proceeding from the Romantic idea of an opposition between a "church of the sacraments" and a "church of the word," K. B. Ritter investigates the significance of word and sacrament in the church. Two essays treat the problem of history and its interpretation (Peter Meinhold, "Basic Questions of the Church's Interpretation of History" and Hans Dombois, "On the Revision of the Church's View of History"). Wilhelm Stählin concerns himself with the concept and the significance of genuine Catholicity in his essay, "Catholicity, Protestantism and Catholicism." Asmussen's "The Ministry in our Generation" and Dombois' "The Controversy about Church Law and Polity" are contributions to the discussion on the ministry and order of the church. H. D. Wendland writes about the structure of the church ("Equality and Inequality in the Body of Christ and the Christian Life") and Oskar Planck on the biblical and Protestant conception of angels and saints ("Our Relation to the World Above").

GESETZ UND EVANGELIUM IN DER NEUEREN THEOLOGIE. *Interpretation einer theologischen Kontroverse [Law and Gospel in Modern Theology. Interpretation of a Theological Controversy]*. By Wolfgang Berge. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1958. 48 pp., DM 2.00.

After a discussion of the concepts "law" and "gospel" in the writings of Asmussen, Althaus, Elert, Bring, Barth, Thielicke, Joest, et al., the author comes to the conclusion that the solution of the problem "law and gospel" is not to be sought in either agreement or disagreement of the two concepts but in "a holding of the antithesis in tension and in fully maintaining the soteriological and ethical concerns." He arrives at this conclusion by measuring the positions of contemporary theologians on this question against the New Testament (Jesus and Paul) and Luther. At the end of this concise study the author looks briefly at the third use of the law, rejecting it.

RELIGION SKAPAR PROBLEM [*Religion Creates Problems*]. By Harald Eklund. Stockholm: Svenska Bokförlaget Norstedts, 1958.

In this brief "introduction to the philosophy of religion," the author—who occupies the only chair for this discipline in Sweden (at Lund)—acquaints students and others with the most important problems of present-day philosophy of religion. "To view religion apart from philosophy and philosophy apart from religion is to underestimate religious thought and to overestimate the independence and originality of philosophy" (p. 4). After a discussion of the parallels between (the Christian) religion and practical philosophies of life (part I), Eklund shows that in religion general laws of thought cannot be sacrificed to an irrationalism on principle, whether dialectic or whatever, so that even mysticism and logic are not mutually exclusive (part II). Therefore *Religionswissenschaft* (= theology) has the task of not merely observing religious "declarations" or "conceptions" but of critically and yet openly discussing religion; furthermore, it is called upon to examine religion's claim that it gives a scientifically valid testimony to a core of reality residing in its experiences (part III).

MORAL, AESTHETIC, AND RELIGIOUS INSIGHT. By Theodore Meyer

Greene. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1957. 141 pp., \$2.75.

One of America's leading philosophers, a man who is a convinced evangelical Christian, offers here an apologia for religion (as well as for morality and art) directed toward the contemporary "scientistic" frame of mind. From a neo-Kantian viewpoint, he asserts the objective reality of the Good, the Beautiful, and the Holy—despite man's partial and warped perception of them. In addition to the "logical rationality" of mathematics and the "factual rationality" of science, Greene distinguishes the "normative rationality" of ethics and aesthetics and the "synoptic rationality" of religion.

KRISTENDOMENS GRUNDTANKAR [*Fundamentals of the Christian Faith*]. By Rudolf Johannsson. Stockholm: Diakonistyrelsens Bokförlag, 1957. Abridged edition, 145 pp. S. Kr. 3.75.

The complete edition of this book which now appears in abridged form was published in 1953. The book is intended to serve as a manual for religious instruction in Swedish high schools and presents a clear and easily comprehended summary of the essential ideas of modern Lundensian theology. In the introduction the author, formerly a lecturer at the University of Lund, deals with general religious questions, such as "Religion and Morals" and "Religion and Truth." The main part of the book is entitled "The Christian Idea of Faith" and contains a presentation of what the author calls the "basic fact of Christianity"—God's act in Christ—set against the background of the significance of creation and sin and entitled "The Work of Liberation." In the final section he goes on to treat general ethical questions, devoting particular attention to Kant's system of ethics, which he explains with reference to the ethical principles of Christianity. Like Nygren he takes as his point of departure an analysis of the Christian conception of love; the essay culminates in an analysis of Luther's distinction between person and office. Finally the author treats the forms of human community: state, family and civilization.

THE MYSTICAL THEOLOGY OF THE EASTERN CHURCH. By Vladimir Lossky. London: James Clarke & Co., Ltd., 1957. 252 pp., 16s.

This work was first published in Paris in 1944 with the title *Essai sur la Théologie Mystique de l'Eglise d'Orient*. A group of English theologians have translated it into English. In a lengthy introduction the author describes the mystical character of the theology of the Eastern church in general. He says this theology is "mystical" since in it "theology" and "spirituality" cannot be separated from one another. From this point of view he discusses the character of Eastern theology, criticizing at the same time the nature of Western theology. In the main part of his book the author assembles various theological declarations on dogmatic problems, e. g., "The Divine Darkness," "God in Trinity," "Created Being," "The Economy of the Son and the Holy Spirit," "Two Aspects of the Church," etc. The author thus gives a picture of Eastern theology from the point of view of dogmatics and history of dogma, at the same time making frequent comparisons with Western theology. The book is therefore a valuable compendium for theologians and teachers of religion. An index is added.

MARTIN LUTHER'S WORKS. Vol. 22 : SERMONS ON THE GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN. Edited by Jaroslav Pelikan. St. Louis, Mo.: Concordia Publishing House, 1957. 558 pp., \$6.00.

The American Edition of Luther's works, previously announced in this bulletin, is now continued with a series of volumes dedicated to Luther's explanation of St. John. The first volume of this series has now appeared. Luther preached on the first chapters of St. John at a time when Bugenhagen was away from Wittenberg (in 1537) and Luther substituted for him in the pulpit. Georg Römer (to whom we owe many of Luther's sermons and lectures), together with two others, transcribed these sermons. Aurifaber, Luther's famulus, collated and edited those on John 1 and 2. The translation is based on the Weimar Edition (Vol. XLVI and Vol. XLVII).

GESPRÄCH ÜBER DEN GLAUBEN. [Discussions on the Christian Faith]. By Eberhard Müller. Hamburg: Furche-Verlag, 1957. 212 pp., DM 12.80.

This book is addressed to the cultured layman of the 20th century. In clear and

understandable German that avoids trite theological jargon, the director of the Evangelical Academy in Bad Boll, Germany, discusses the fundamentals of the Christian faith. He illustrates the personal character of the Christian's relation to God with frequent examples taken from the love between man and wife. The division of the book follows that of the Apostles' Creed except that in the first section he treats not creation but God and the problem of knowledge of God. He holds all the more closely then to the content of the other two articles of the creed and does not avoid such difficult questions as the resurrection, the empty tomb and the descent of Christ into hell and his ascent into heaven. He attempts to relate these credal statements to the modern reader not by demythologizing them but — where the word "mythical" is at all justified — by remythologizing (*Um-mythologisierung*). This book is therefore a really practical contribution to the problem of present-day proclamation of the Christian message and contrasts with the flood of theoretical treatments of the matter.

RESURRECTION AND HISTORICAL REASON. By Richard R. Niebuhr. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1957. 181 pp., \$3.95.

In this reworking of his doctoral dissertation, the son of the distinguished professor of ethics at Yale University undertakes to show how the modern Protestant view of history has suffered at the hands of a Kantian metaphysic which sets the religious solely in the context of practical, moral reason. Because the theological schools of the 19th and 20th centuries have carried the Kantian tradition to its extreme by creating a no-man's land between pure reason and religion, Protestantism has found itself without a real, historical religion. Nowhere is that fact more evident than in the treatment of the resurrection pericopes. But since these pericopes represent the most fundamental aspect of Christianity, they must be reconciled with a view of history, albeit independent of the natural sciences, nevertheless in accord with the canons of historical reason. Niebuhr contends that the resurrection narratives afford the only analogy which helps to explain the phenomenon of the Christian church, its past, present and future.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY.
By Cyril C. Richardson. New York : Abingdon Press, 1958. 159 pp., \$3.00.

In this volume, Professor Richardson of Union Theological Seminary, New York, makes a radical criticism of all traditional doctrines of the Trinity. While it is necessary to make distinctions in the Godhead, he asserts, these do not lend themselves to a neat trinitarian pattern. The terms "Father," "Son," and "Spirit" are ambiguous within the New Testament itself, and come from a varied background of religious myth and language.

Major doctrines of the Trinity considered are: "The Trinity of Mediation" (Tertullian, Origen); "The Trinity of Love" (Augustine, Richard St. Victor); "The Trinity of Revelation" (Sabellius, Schleiermacher); and "The Trinity of God's Activity" (Gregory of Nyssa). To each, specific objections are entered.

Richardson questions neither the orthodox Christology nor the need for continued use of the symbols "Father," "Son," and "Spirit," so long as it is recognized that they do not denominate precise persons in the Trinity. Rather they, like other symbols, point to aspects of what, according to the author, is the basic distinction to be made within the Godhead: the antinomy between his absoluteness and his relatedness to the world.

GRUNDFRAGEN DES STUDIUMS DER THEOLOGIE [*The Study of Theology — Basic Questions*]. By Heinrich Vogel. Berlin : Lettner Verlag, 1957. 162 pp., DM 8.50.

The author says in the preface that his book is not intended to be either "an encyclopedia in small" or a vademecum for students of theology. His purpose is instead a concise consideration of the question of truth, addressed to students of theology — young and old — with the hope of offering some assistance to them. With this idea in view he treats in chapter 1 the problem of the call, with reference to the situation of the student of theology and the candidate for the ministry and their calling. Chapter 2 discusses the question of what *wissenschaft* is and what it means to "ask questions" in theology. Chapter 3 centers on the question of truth and chapter 4 treats the various aspects of theology. Three letters addressed to a theological student are appended to chapters 1, 3 and 4 and add a personal note to the book. On many questions the author

comes close to developing a small dogmatics. The author will have the reader to understand that a certain heaviness of style is inevitable on this question, and not only for the beginner. Thus the book is addressed not only to the beginner but to the permanent beginner who during his whole life as a theologian never gets away from the study of theology.

RELIGION, SOCIETY, AND THE INDIVIDUAL: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION. By J. Milton Yinger. New York : The Macmillan Company, 1957. 655 pp., \$6.75. Part I only (322 pp.), \$5.00.

This work by the Professor of Sociology and Anthropology at Oberlin College is at once a summary of the present state of sociological research into religion and a constructive statement of the author's view of the relation of religion to society. It is available in two editions, the longer of which contains some two-score pertinent selections from the sociological classics of the past fifty years. Although indebted to Continental theorists such as Durkheim, Weber, and Troeltsch, the author stresses the empirical approach characteristic of American sociology. No *general* theory of the dependence of religion upon culture, or the reverse, can be formulated; rather, this relationship is subject to investigation in concrete cases. Neither a sociological determinism nor a naive emphasis on the historically-transformative power of religious ideas is adequate. It is a matter of continuous interaction among various levels of causation and effect. Among the special problems dealt with are the economic aspects of the Reformation, the effect of the American environment on Protestants, Roman Catholics, and Jews, social stratification in the churches, and the churches' attitudes toward modern nationalism. The degree of religious influence on the course of social change is determined, according to the author, by three factors: the basic "church-" or "sect-type" nature of the religious group in question, i. e., the degree to which it tends toward adaptation or revolt; the availability of prophetic or charismatic leadership; and the degree of autonomy of the religious institutions from the secular power-institutions. Movements such as Communism or Nazism are treated as secular equivalents for religion; neurosis is "a private form of religion." Throughout

the book, the insights of social psychology and cultural anthropology are combined with those of sociology in the narrower sense.

SOLANGE ES "HEUTE" HEISST. *Festgabe für Rudolf Hermann zum 70. Geburtstag. [While it is Day. For Rudolf Hermann on his Seventieth Birthday].* Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1958. 304 pp., DM 20.00.

Twenty-four theologians from various countries have written essays for the 70th birthday of Rudolf Hermann, for many years professor in Greifswald and now professor of systematic theology in Berlin. Four of the essays are connected with Hermann's openness to the question of the so-called "natural" knowledge of God: Paul Althaus' argument with "exclusively christological dogmatics" ("Through the Law Comes Knowledge of Sin"), E. Jensen's contribution on the "light of reason" in Richard Hooker, F. Lau's on "The Natural Law Controversy" and E. Schoot's on natural law as a issue between Roman Catholic and Protestant theology. Many contributions arise from serious study of Luther's theology, e.g., "The Freedom of the Christian and the Bondage of the Will" (by H. J. Iwand), "Regeneration" (by J. Haar), "Luther and Popular Superstition" (by G. Holtz) and Horst Beintker's study on *metanoia* in Luther. Other authors write on questions of fundamentals, e.g., G. Wehrung, "Promise and Faith — on the Question of Subject-Object in the Thought of the Reformation" and R. Prenter, "The Relations between Theology and Philosophy as a Problem in Dogmatics." Others are in the exegetical and historical fields or on questions of general scholarly interest, e.g., "The Conceptions of 'Redemption' in the OT" (Jepsen), "The Guilt of the Fathers" (Rost), "Isaiah 53 as the Key to Understanding Baptism" (Nygren), "The Biblical Foundations of the 'Universal Priesthood'" (Nagel), "Religion and Language" (F. Tschirsch), et al. F. Buschbeck's essay on "R. Hermann's Significance for Jochen Klepper as Seen in the Journals" gives a fine appreciation of Hermann.

Practical Theology

KLEINE LITURGIK DER HEILIGEN MESSE [Liturgical Notes on the Mass]. By

J. Baur. Innsbruck: Verlag Felician Rauch, 1957. 100 pp., AS 39.00.

This short investigation traces the sequence of the Mass according to the Roman Missal and is intended to help the reader to a more profound understanding of the individual liturgical sections and of the service as a whole. Each individual section is examined and dealt with under three aspects: history, content and rubrics. The book is intended to give students an introduction to the Mass and for use as a textbook; for the non-Catholic reader it provides a brief glimpse into the nature and content of the Roman Catholic worship service.

EINFÜHRUNG IN DIE LITURGIEWISSENSCHAFT [An Introduction to Liturgics]. By Leonhard Fendt. Berlin: Verlag Alfred Töpelmann, 1958. 287 pp., DM 24.00.

This work, which Leonhard Fendt had ready for printing at the time of his death, has now been published by Bernhard Klaus. In a time of "liturgical revivals" Fendt has left a worthy legacy. The index of source material and the bibliography for this area of work which is continually growing in importance in Protestant theology are particularly valuable for the person who wants to start working his way into the subject. A complete survey is given of the existing liturgical forms and editions, classified according to centuries, from the early church up to the present day. This is followed by a basic introduction; the individual liturgical forms are then briefly developed and evaluated, followed by a concluding summary of the specific period of the liturgy in question. In the last section, under the heading of "Conclusions," the liturgies of the major churches are discussed. The book concludes with a section on the "protest of the Reformation," which also reveals the attitude taken by the author to liturgical revivals.

DIE GLAUBENSWELT DES SEKTIERERS. *Das Sektentum als antireformatorische Konfession — sein Anspruch und seine Tragödie* [The Sectararian's World of Belief. Sectarianism as an Anti-Reformation Confession — its Claim and its Tragedy]. By Kurt Hutten. Hamburg: Furche-Verlag, 1958. 148 pp., DM 10.80.

This book is not the usual sort of reference work with presentations of the individual sects. The author's concern is rather to

see behind the diversity of sectarian doctrines and their contradictions of the Reformation a common basic theological motif, a unity. At the same time he gives in the first part a basic presentation of the "nature of the sects"; he does not merely show that there have been "sects" from the very beginning of church history, and that for this reason it is so difficult to define them; he shows above all the antithetical nature of sects, that the individual sect lives more by its "no" to the church than by the substance of its own belief, which is characterized by a peculiar narrowness of the intellectual and religious horizon. This "no" is still what actually gives the sect its confessional stamp, which depends on the direction it takes — whether against the Orthodox, the Roman or the Protestant church. In the second part, which is really the principal one, the author depicts the "spiritual and intellectual structure of Protestant sects," the source of their splintering off (the old protest against the *sola gratia*) and the transposition of the place of decision to the human sphere ("Snatching at Grace"). In other sections the *theologia gloriae Dei* of the Reformation is placed over against the *theologia gloriae sectae* and the Reformation *theologia crucis* over against the sect's *theologia possessionis*. From this follows, as a consequence of the sectarian way of salvation, the "absolutizing of the fellowship of the sect" and its "apocalyptic apotheosis." In his final section the author confronts "the church and the sects" and shows the questions which such a confrontation directs at the church. How often the sects were only a protest against the "captive God" of the church — held captive in a whole range of concepts, ideas, and ideologies (from the confessional writing down to political and social, patriotic or national movements). Thus the church is being constantly subjected to critical questioning by the sects, about the seriousness with which it takes the *sola fide* and the *sola scriptura* within its own walls, and it is constantly pointed to the real radicality and breadth of the event of the cross. In an appendix the author gives "some rules for the debate with the sects."

THE SERMON AND THE PROBERS.
By Fred H. Lindemann. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1958. Vol. I, 197 pp., Vol. II, 243 pp., \$8.50.

In order to remedy the helplessness or even the caprice of pastors in choosing their sermon texts, the author attempts in these aids to preaching to fit the sermon organically again into the pericopes of the church year. The church year is the unfolding of the mystery of Christ and as such is to be brought home again to the congregation. In the preface the author gives an introduction to the church year and the service of worship and is particularly concerned about regaining the full Lutheran service with sermon and communion. It is not permissible, he says, to set word and sacrament (in itself an unclear expression) over against one another and to set the one above the other. In addition he provides each season of the church year with a short introduction to its theme. The first volume covers Advent to Epiphany, the second Lent to Pentecost. The Trinity season will be treated in a third volume. The author gives a short characterization of each individual Sunday, with a description of the propers for the day. In addition there is an outline of a sermon on the epistle and the gospel and a short meditation for Holy Communion.

ERNEUERUNG DER LITURGIE AUS DEM GEIST DER SEELSORGE UNTER DEM PONTIFICAT PAPST PIUS XII
[Revival of the Liturgy as a Pastoral Concern under the Pontificate of Pope Pius XII]. *Proceedings of the First International Pastoral and Liturgical Congress at Assisi, German edition. Edited by Johannes Wagner. Trier: Paulinus-Verlag, 1957. 362 pp.*

The movement for liturgical revival, which was begun by the Belgian and German Benedictine monks, is one of the essential marks of modern Roman Catholicism; the carrying on and extension of this revival "as a pastoral concern" is a characteristic of the pontificate of the present pope. The pastoral and liturgical congress, which has set itself the task of organically binding together and relating to one another these two impulses, pastoral care and liturgy, therefore says a great deal about the pastoral aspects of the phenomena of church life, liturgy, preaching and mission work. It investigates especially the pastoral significance of new rituals and liturgical orders.

Of the many papers and reports which were given at the congress held September 18-21, 1957, we can select only a few here;

the collection of documents under review not only reproduces the text of the major papers but also includes the speeches of greeting and other similar documents. Gaetano Cardinal Cicognani, cardinal prefect of the Congregation of Rites and also president of the congress, reported on the importance of Pius XII himself for the revival of the liturgy as a pastoral concern. In addition there are some contributions on certain pastoral aspects of church orders and ministerial dispensations; among these are papers on the encyclicals *Mystici Corporis* and *Mediator Dei* (by Abbot Bernard Capelle, Löwen) and *Musicae sacrae disciplina* (by Bishop Albert Stohr, Mainz), on the Apostolic Constitution *Sacramentum Ordinis* (by Suffragan Bishop Francesco Vicente, Toledo) and *Christus Dominus* (by Archbishop Garrone, Toulouse) and on the new bilingual rituals (by Cardinal Gerlier, Lyons) and the eastern rites (by Dom Olivier Rousseau, Chevetogne). Further contributions which pertain to the liturgical revival but not necessarily to its relation to pastoral care include the reports on new liturgical orders (those of the diocese of Lugano, for Holy Week, and the propers according to the encyclical *Musicae sacrae disciplina*). The volume seen as a whole gives the liturgics specialist, but also the pastor and theologian a comprehensive insight into one of the most important phenomena of modern Roman Catholicism.

STAT OCH KYRKA I SKILDA LÄNDER
[*Church and State in Various Countries*],
Vol. I: Finland, Sweden, Wales, Scotland.
Published by the Swedish Pastors' Association.
Stockholm: Diakonistyrelsens Bokförlag.
1957. 132 pp., S. Kr. 7.50.

This study must be read against the background of the legal relations between church and state in Sweden. In the introductory chapter Dr. Gunnar Prawitz examines the legal situation of the Church of Finland, constantly referring to the corresponding situation in Sweden; he pays particular attention to the economic situation of the two churches. Thorsten Levenstam, who is in charge of the training of deacons in the Swedish church, shows how the diaconate has a firm and unequivocal place in the total structure of the Church of Finland. In an essay filled with many concrete details D. Svennungsson describes the separation of the Welsh church from the state in 1920 and the resulting consequences. In an essay entitled "Canon Law and Ecclesiastical Politics in Scotland," Karl Strandberg, lecturer in canon law at Uppsala, traces the developments leading up to the present Church of Scotland and describes the principal features of the church's organization today. A detailed bibliography brings the volume to a close. A second volume, dealing with the situations in East and West Germany, Switzerland and France, is to appear shortly.

LITERATURE SURVEY is published as appendix to LUTHERAN WORLD by the Department of Theology, Lutheran World Federation, Director Dr. Vilmos Vajta. All inquiries should be forwarded to: Department of Theology of LWF, Geneva/Switzerland, 17, Route de Malagnou.

LUTHERAN WORLD

PUBLICATION OF THE LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION

Vol. V, No. 1

June, 1958

A Protestant concept of tradition is concerned primarily with an event, namely, the transmission of the saving word of God which seeks to be heard and believed, and with an ever deeper penetration into the biblical insights connected with this saving event. In reality this is living tradition too but how different in meaning from the same words in modern Roman Catholic theology! We are both proceeding toward the same concept but precisely in this confrontation are far removed from one another.

Yet perhaps these very words, "living tradition"—regardless of how deeply the two sides differ in their interpretation of them—can constitute a foundation for discussion between Roman and Protestant theologians who are ready to give ear to one another.

It is remarkable that, despite all, Roman Catholic theologians have devoted themselves as perhaps never before to historical exegesis of the Bible and Protestant theologians have given more and more attention to the problem of tradition.

The tradition of the church—the Roman Catholic as well as the Protestant church—is susceptible to illumination from the center of Scripture, i.e., Scripture as the living testimony to God's saving act in Jesus Christ, and from the biblical insights accompanying that act. What this means is that something takes place in tradition. Then the tradition comes alive and the many "traditions" fall by the way, even those which perhaps today appear very important to us and even necessary for salvation. Then tradition becomes what it is by definition: the witness of the mighty acts of God, passed on from generation to generation; not a record of something in the past but God's work of salvation in the present.

In this hope we can carry on our theological work even where it appears to be quite without hope. Our faith teaches us to hope even against hope.

KRISTEN EJNER SKYDSGAARD

Church, State and Society - a Protestant View

To put these three words, church, state and society, together in one title is to inquire into the ultimate structural elements of the West, for in these three concepts we confront the ultimate and highest forms of community life of which we have any knowledge. Little wonder, then, if confessional antitheses show themselves here too, precisely here. We will come to an understanding of the present situation only if we see clearly the broad outlines of the history of the relation of these three entities to one another.

We must proceed from the situation in the Middle Ages where two ideas prevailed, the so-called "two-sword theory" and the conception of a *Corpus Christianum*. The two-sword theory says that all power on earth is two, namely, spiritual power, embodied and at home in the church, and secular power, embodied in the rulers of the state. Since the spirit is superior to the flesh, the church is quite naturally set over the state. One complements the other thus forming one harmonious whole, for since Constantine the concept of the body of Christ is no longer only a spiritual concept but a legal, constitutional one as well. This is manifested above all in the fact that from this point on the state can demand two things from its citizens, baptism and belief in the Triune God. Whoever does not give his assent to both is not only a heretic, i.e., an enemy of the church, but an enemy of the state as well. It is for this reason that the Anabaptists and the Anti-trinitarians actually had no place in Western society. We know how these ideas influenced Luther, after their time, so to speak; in taking over these basic structures he is still a thoroughly medieval man. Last but not least, it is the two-sword theory that explains the rigor with which the Inquisition — but also Calvin — proceeded against those who denied the Trinity.

Luther's Critique

There are four things of which Luther accuses the medieval church :

- (1) The hierarchy of the church makes the kingdom of God into a kingdom of this world. By identifying the rule of God with rule of the hierarchy, God, or the exalted Christ, is deprived of his rule.
- (2) It belongs to the essence of the church that it is a church under the cross. Therefore a church whose concern is earthly power is denying its true nature.
- (3) The practice of the church, understood in the Roman Catholic sense, is a manifestation not of a *theologia crucis* but of a *theologia gloriae*; that is, it anticipates the heavenly glory so that the pope has become the representative not of the crucified but of the exalted Lord.

(4) As a result there is the constant threat, brought about by the hierarchy, that Christ and church will be confused with one another, and as a result man is deceived as to his salvation and God as to his glory.

This fundamental critique of the hierarchy is at the same time, however, a critique of the hierarchy's conception of its relation to the existing political structure : a double morality is a necessity as long as the state is given a utilitarian interpretation, as in the system of Thomas Aquinas, where the state is regarded as the authority created to regulate the egoism of the individual and to guarantee its citizens a happy life assured of the necessary external security (thus *De regimine principum*, I, 1). Thomas must then emphasize that the final goal of man, the *visio Dei*, is thus not to be attained through the state ; therefore, in addition to the state, which orders the external life of the community, the superstructure of the church is called for. This theory of the "two stories" and the superposition of the higher story (the church) above the lower story (the state) which it entails, also establishes at the same time the claim of the church to have power over the state. By reason of its higher spiritual quality the church has the right, indeed the duty, to guide the world spiritually. The holy ranks above the profane and has the right to prescribe to it the path it should take and the goal it should strive for. The world — as well as society and the state — can be sanctified only as it and they subordinate themselves directly to the authority of the hierarchy and conform to the church's purposes. The true and valid testing ground of ethics is not the world but asceticism, in other words monasticism with its superiority to and withdrawal from the world. Here alone is the evangelical ideal of life realized, not in the life of secular man, not therefore in the life of the politician either.

Roman Catholic authors are also able to recognize this view of the matter. Pohle, for example, writes in the article "tolerance" in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (as quoted in Ryan and Boland, *Catholic Principles of Politics*) :¹

"The intimate connection of both powers during the Middle Ages was only a passing and temporary phenomenon, arising neither from the essential nature of the State nor from that of the Church." In the same article [say Ryan and Boland] he [Pohle] points out three grave evil results of this intimate connection ; namely, excessive meddling by ecclesiastical authorities in political affairs, conflicts between the two powers which produced diminished popular respect for both, and "the danger that the clergy, trusting blindly to the interference of the secular arm in their behalf, may easily sink into dull resignation and spiritual torpor, while the laity, owing to the religious surveillance of the State, may develop rather into a race of religious hypocrites and pietists than into inwardly convinced Christians."

It is this series of conceptions that Luther turns radically against.² One must see his thoughts on the state in relation to the center of his whole thought, otherwise the essential element in what he says remains a closed book. Now all of Luther's statements are governed directly by the serious and earnest question of God and salvation. At every point in my life I come upon the unconditional will

¹ J. A. Ryan and F. A. Boland, *Catholic Principles of Politics* (New York : Macmillan, 1941), p. 316.

² Cf. here Walther von Loewenich, "Das Neue in Luthers Gedanken über den Staat," in *Luther-Jahrbuch*, 1932, pp. 110-122.

of God who confronts me personally with his demand upon me. This will demands of me unconditional good, but it reveals me to be a sinner par excellence, incapable of complying with the unconditional demand. Therefore the three alternatives which had been employed hitherto were precluded for Luther: the churchly alternative which offers an appeasement of God through the means of sacramental grace; the mystical alternative which points to an ultimate identity in the nature of God and man, to be discovered in the depths of the soul; and the humanistic alternative which believes that man is ethically perfectible.

How does Luther come past this point however, for his reformatory insight surely did not consist only in the negative recognition of the stringency of God and the inadequacy of man? The turning point for him was the recognition that God's righteousness is not only judging and punitive but also conferring. In Christ God is not only our enemy and an exacting judge, he is also our friend and savior. Therefore for Christ's sake, *propter Christum*, by grace alone, *sola gratia*, and by faith alone, *sola fide*, a new existence before God is made possible. This change can of course never become fully perceptible here on earth, for as long as we live in the flesh we will have to reckon with sin, therefore: *semper peccator, semper justus*. The basic motif of Lutheran piety is therefore the experiencing of God's grace and of faith in the midst of *Anfechtung*, as gifts granted ever anew. Thus becomes evident how in the dialectic of Luther's doctrine of justification by grace he holds fast to the eschatological limits of all earthly existence.

Eschatological existence as seen in the justified sinner never signifies however merely resignation from the ethical task. On the contrary, it means that one approaches the ethical demand with new seriousness, not limiting it this time to the monastic sphere, apart from the world; instead love is active in the midst of the orders of this world. Good works can indeed be done only by the forgiven sinner on the basis of forgiveness, but this is the way they should be done too, not as works forced out of a person under duress, but as fruits of the Spirit, quite voluntarily and in all the joy peculiar to the redeemed sinner. With this approach there falls by the wayside the distinction between profane and holy, between the realm of the church as the locus of ethical realization and the realm of the world as the dubious locus with inferior ethical rank. Now there falls by the wayside the hitherto prevailing system of meritorious good works, and the whole matrix of secular relationships becomes the place where faith proves itself. Included is the existing political structure, i.e., the state, but no less all other organs and functions of society; in short, every possible relationship in life. Luther was very alert to the multitude of potential relationships, which the doctrine of the three estates circumscribes only inadequately. Since God places his claim upon the whole man, he does not leave man to his own devices when it comes to the life he lives in his particular station, as a father or son, master or servant, sovereign or subject, cleric or ordinary member of the church.

Is there one common denominator of the activity in these three orders, the *ordo oeconomicus*, *politicus* and *hierarchicus*? The answer is yes: love. Here again

this concept is understood otherwise than in the Catholic system of the Middle Ages where love was one of the theological virtues, to be exercised above all in the supererogatory works of mercy which establish merit before God, while normal behavior in the world was governed by the rules comprehended in natural law (proportional righteousness in the Aristotelian sense). In Luther too love is certainly regarded as flowing from the supernatural fountain of faith, but not as a work of supererogation, a work standing above the other, normal works of the Christian, but as his completely normal behavior in his day-to-day relationships with others. If there is a principle of social ethics in Luther, then it is love. Usually Luther's rediscovery of faith is regarded as his great reformatory deed, but this should not cause one to overlook the fact that his discovery of *love* as the sustaining norm in all inter-human relations was of no less significance for him. In love my neighbor receives his due, for love is the response of faith in act and deed to God's primary confrontation with man, in Christ.³ Here Luther rejects every gradation whatever which would, to be sure, recognize righteousness as the norm for social behavior in general but sets love apart as the special supererogatory behavior of the Christian. By love Luther does not mean sentimental feeling nor passionate denial of every manifestation of self; his concept of love receives its orientation from the way in which God himself loves: God's love is paradoxical love, often it appears disguised as anger. Therefore love, as the Christian is to exercise it, often appears as just the opposite, as, e.g., when the soldier can kill with a good conscience or the father can administer discipline in the awareness that he is fully justified in what he is doing. In the last analysis it is only the Christian who is acquainted with this special characteristic of Christian love, but that must not mean that the practice of love is confined to the circle of Christians. Even though the normal loci for confronting one's neighbor are in most cases the stations and orders of life, this does not signify a fundamental limitation of the practice of love to those who are Christians. Every person can confront every other person as his neighbor. Through Christ all persons and all peoples have been brought into relation with God and, thereby, with their neighbors.

The Reformation, with its confessionally determined territorial boundaries, did not draw the consequences of these thoughts for the shaping of social relationships in a world in which Christians and non-Christians must live side by side. There was as yet no concrete occasion for such a confrontation of Christian with non-Christian and no necessity of creating social forms for the common life in a mixed society. In any case, however, the resources available in the universal character of the concept of love, which occupies such a fundamental place in Luther's thinking, must be drawn upon today: the solidarity of fellow human beings must not be confined to the circle of Christians — nor to that of one's own denominational fellows. Indeed not. We have no basic right "to set human

³ Cf. here Erik Wolf, "Recht des Nächsten," No. XV in *Philosophische Abhandlungen* (Frankfurt/Main, 1958).

boundaries around God's good will to man which has appeared in Jesus Christ."⁴ The ideal of a society which is to be perfected and integrated within a denominational framework — an ideal that beckons in Roman Catholicism — becomes, on these grounds, a dubious one seeing that the relationships which agape is to embrace are universal and take hold of one's personality in every respect. These relationships are not to be limited to our Christian brethren — we must be open to all that bears human form.⁵

For the Reformation, as we said above, the consequences of these thoughts were not yet manifest. Therefore, many a statement and decision of the Reformers bears the impress of the traditional.

State or Statesman?

Yet new thoughts make their appearance in Luther which are well suited to take the place of the old. One sociological change that the late Middle Ages underwent became significant for Luther: the transition from a *res publica Christiana* into a multitude of independent national states and territories. For the Reformation this is the given political form, the one with which it had to reckon. Connected with this transition is the shaking of the political power of the papacy so that it is no longer the dominant power in the West, encroaching upon all others. Does this signify that for the state every transcendental tie is dissolved? This is sometimes asserted about the Reformation's teaching on the state, but it does not accord with the facts. The subordination of the state to the church did indeed come to an end but not the state's — or more accurately the statesman's — fundamental status as one of subjection to the lordship of Christ.

This distinction between state and statesman is no mere trifle, for it shows us that the Reformation thought not in terms of an impersonal institution, an anonymously functioning mechanism, but in terms of living people whom one could approach and remind of their responsibility. Here we are touching upon a very essential factor in Reformation thinking about the state. The Reformation does not see two institutions standing over against one another with the necessity of coming to terms about which is to play the decisive role; it sees instead the preacher of the gospel and the territorial prince confronting one another, not in the sense that the preacher puts forth a claim for power in the name of an institution to which the prince must subject himself but in the sense that the preacher admonishes the conscience of the prince on the basis of the gospel, which includes

⁴ Karl Barth, *Die Menschlichkeit Gottes* (Zollikon/Zürich: Evangelischer Verlag, 1956), p. 24.

⁵ When in what follows a distinction is made between person and institution, personal involvement and institutional thinking, then this is intended merely to call attention to the fact that in Reformation thinking the church does not coincide with a legally constituted organization and is therefore not actually a body among bodies or a party among parties but the person-to-person fellowship of believers in all possible forms of society. This invisibility of the church does not exclude a visibility of the church gathered around word and sacrament and of the functions of the ministries in the church.

of course also the preaching of the law.⁶ By preaching in both kingdoms the church maintains its claim to independent existence over against the statesman, and he in turn is thus freed, in faith, to a genuine worldliness in the execution of his task. The preacher of the gospel cannot instruct him in the details of carrying out his office, because that does not belong to his office as a preacher, that would be an encroachment upon the sphere of the state's peculiar responsibility. But it must also ever and again be impressed upon the statesman that he must answer to God for what he does or does not do. Thus we meet the objection that the Reformation abetted the religious indifference of the state. The preachers of the Reformation would never have rested content if the state had neglected to protect pure doctrine and the unhindered proclamation of the word of God. The prince is charged with the responsibility of guaranteeing this freedom of the gospel within his territory. Thus the church does not claim for itself any legal privileges beyond those which manifest a recognition of the legitimate place of its proclamation in public life. Thus an end is made of the continual dispute at the boundaries of church and state about questions of possession and rank, about action directly influencing the course of political policy and developments.⁷ That the church, in the Reformation sense, becomes a state within the state is thus avoided.

It is important, especially in view of the historical transformations that now follow, to hold fast to the personal character of the confrontation of state and church. Only in this way is it possible to avoid the necessity of regarding the church as a type of competition to the state, concerned about making its place secure and obtaining legal guarantees. This view of the matter is not unimportant for us apropos of the present situation in Germany, since here the democratic state rests upon the "predominance of interest groups," to borrow Eschenburg's phrase, and appears to be endangered by the too prominent emergence of an egoism of the group. In this situation the church must deem it of utmost importance not to appear in the role of an "interest group among interest groups," its chief concern being its own security and the guaranteeing of its own interests. A church whose conception of itself is derived from the gospel of Jesus Christ will never find it possible to be an out-and-out church of power; it will have to be a serving church which with respect to the state knows only one demand, namely, that the state give it scope for its service.

Absolutism and a State Church

When we turn to examining contemporary feelings and convictions regarding the problem complex, church and state, we find this impossible without first

⁶ Cf. here K. D. Schmidt, *Staat und evangelische Kirche seit der Reformation* (1947), p. 10: "The principle of the separation of church and state was remote from Luther. They are much rather to work together since together they constitute the *corpus Christianum*, the one Christendom, and in their differing ministry to this Christendom belong together almost in the way that husband and wife belong together, precisely because of their diversity."

⁷ Cf. the article "Staat und Kirche" by H. Diem and K. Hesse in the *Evangelisches Soziallexikon* (Stuttgart, 1954).

concerning ourselves with the next step in the historical development: the emergence of absolutism and the state church. As important as it is to arrive at the original intention of the Reformation, yet we must not fail to recognize that in the course of history this intention was manifoldly obscured. In the 17th century an abstract type of thinking about the state emerges in which the office of ruler is based on categories derived from natural law and the Reformation's conception of church and state in personal terms hardens into an institutionalized conception. This came about not the least through the influence of the canonical doctrine that the control of the church by the territorial ruler rests on the *ius episcopale* and the ruler is the *summus episcopus*.⁸ The state becomes a law unto itself and the church becomes a part of this absolute state and is administered by a consistory composed of lawyers and theologians. The grotesqueness of this state of affairs is a result of the total divorcement of the prince's personal faith and his legal functions within the church. Thus the Hohenzollerns who in 1613 went over to the Reformed faith were still able to remain as head bishops in Brandenburg, which was Lutheran; and the elector of Saxony, who had been converted to Roman Catholicism, could even continue to preside over the *Corpus Evangelicorum*! It is at this time that that relationship develops which is characteristic even of our own day: the functional and personal confrontation of church and state in the figures of the preacher and the prince, whereby both are members of both kingdoms, the state and the church, becomes the confrontation of institutions whose relationship to one another is regulated on purely legal grounds.

At the same time that absolutism was emerging the churches began to conceive of themselves differently than heretofore, namely, as confessions, religious parties that must bear with one another in mutual tolerance. This presents us with a fact that is completely new to both the Middle Ages and the Reformation: in the West, church and state no longer simply stand over against one another, instead there is a plurality of confessions within one state. This had the most far-reaching consequences for the problem of social integration insofar as an integration on purely confessional grounds no longer appeared possible. A particularly important step in this direction was the repartition of German territories under Napoleon whereby the phenomenon of a state having only one confession comes to an end in Germany. It is, however, a problem that we in our generation must solve anew, in view of the tremendous inner migration resulting from the resettlement in the Federal Republic of persons coming from eastern Germany. Here new forms of thought are obviously necessary if we are to live with one another in peace. Now the employer can no longer ask, "Are you a Lutheran? If so, then you can get work here." Or the landlord: "If you are Catholic or are raising your children as Catholics, then we can accommodate you here." Such views still presuppose the confessionally landlocked state of the 16th century.

⁸ Cf. the article "Neuzeit" by K. Kupisch in the *Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1957).

They are antiquated however as soon as the problem is that of integrating citizens belonging to different confessions into one state in a way that accords equal rights and privileges to all. The same problem of the coexistence of churches of different confessions confronts the members of European territorial churches who have emigrated to America. There the separation of church and state becomes a vital question for the nation and denominationalism *the* form of church life for Protestantism.⁹

The thing that still informs German Protestants' feelings and convictions about the state to a marked degree is the attitude, engendered by absolutism, of subjection "unto the higher powers" and the accompanying trust in the leadership of the state. In any description of the relation between church and state in Germany this factor must not be forgotten because it exercises its influence even after the transformations of 1918 and 1945. At the same time it is a final echo of the relation of personal confidence existing between the Christian prince and the Christian citizen at the time of the Reformation. In any case, there was the certainty that the governing authorities would conduct public affairs in the best way and for the common welfare. Corresponding to the citizen's trust in the higher powers was his lack of personal initiative: after all, it was not *his* business to make independent political decisions as long as his sovereign was there to do it for him. On the swell of this attitude of trust and of its counterpart, the attitude of subjection, the absolute prince could be borne to his preeminent position. Therefore Germans have in their political thinking always found the concept of obedience more important than that of freedom.¹⁰ And, not the least important, it is clear to all of us that this belief in authority could be misused by the men of the Third Reich. The obedience they called for found its ideological support in theological polemic against liberalism and individualism and in the advocacy of authority. Not the least of the reasons why people affirmed Adolf Hitler's state was that here was, in the first place, once again a genuine "state," i.e., a state that claimed and established authority.

The great difficulty which we see for us here in Germany is whether today, after the perversion of authority in the Third Reich, it is still historically possible to connect the need for authority to a seat of authority in the old manner; or whether our present task should not much rather consist in proving that also in the political sphere Christians have "come of age" and are, above all, ready to arrive at their own political opinions and bear responsibility.¹¹ Our historical situation is marked by an unfortunate vacillation between two extremes, a back-

⁹ Cf. S. E. Mead, "Denominationalism: The Shape of Protestantism in America," in *Church History*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 291-320; W. S. Hudson, "Denominationalism as a Basis for Ecumenicity. A 17th Century Conception," *ibid.*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 32-50.

¹⁰ Cf. here H. H. Schrey, "Vom Obrigkeitsstaat zur Demokratie," *Der mündige Christ* (Stuttgart: Kreuz-Verlag, 1956), pp. 243-247.

¹¹ In employing the concept of "adulthood" or "coming of age" (*Mündigkeit*) we are drawing upon the terminology formulated by Dietrich Bonhoeffer on the basis of Gal. 4. The concept is concerned primarily with the transference of the Christian into the state of sonship before God and the resulting freedom to work in the world, without fear and free from demonic ties. It is a theological concept, not a psychological or pedagogical one. It does not therefore exclude the necessity, on the pedagogical level, of instruction of Christians in questions of their secular existence nor does it exclude their coming to the church as a place of refuge.

ward-looking yearning for authoritarian political forms and total apathy towards the tasks of a democratic way of life. Roman Catholics as well as Protestants are at one in the battle against deficient interest in political affairs and summon their denominational fellows to look to their political responsibility.

Mixed Marriages, Schools, Labor Unions

Conceptions of the nature of this responsibility vary however. For the Roman Catholics in Germany the only possible political platform and the only one approved by the church appears to be that of the party which has the word "Christian" in its name ; * other parties, above all those which by reason of their history have been engaged in heavy polemics against Christianity and the church, such as those favoring social democracy, are specifically prohibited by the Roman Catholic Church. This decision corresponds on the one hand to the preponderance of institutional thinking in Roman Catholicism and on the other to the preponderance of ideological thinking. Institution and ideology stand in an inner, corresponding relationship to one another, however. The basis for the institutional integration of the Christian element into society — a basis given in the very existence of a Christian party — requires as its counterpart an ideological understanding of Christianity : Christianity is a sum of particular doctrines clearly distinct from other doctrines, and the goal of the Christian's political activity is the efficacious implementation of those doctrines within the framework of the whole society, if that is possible. In Germany this can be illustrated particularly by drawing upon three problem complexes : the constitution of marriage laws and of Roman Catholic and Protestant policies concerning schools and labor unions.

In matters pertaining to marriage laws the Roman Catholic Church in Germany wants to make civil marriage optional, i.e., it wants civil and legal recognition of marriages performed by the church. This demand presupposes that church marriage is itself a legal act, effected by an institution of legal character in competition with the secular executor of legal acts, the state. For the Protestant this legal character of the church is devoid of content since for him the church is a community of faith and not of law. For this reason for him there can be a multiplicity of legal forms in the church — for example, episcopal polity alongside of synodical and presbyterian — without thereby affecting the inner essence of the church ; similarly, it is also possible to recognize the state as the exclusive executor of official legal acts, to which civil marriage also belongs.

We confront the same institutional thinking in a problem of particular relevance today, mixed marriages. I do not wish to broach the whole question of mixed marriages here ; I will confine myself to the measures combating mixed marriages, as recommended by the Roman Catholic Church in Germany today. It

* The Christian Democratic Union, of which Dr. Adenauer is the head. [Translator]

accords with the strongly institutional thinking of the Roman Catholic Church that it seeks to combat the increase in mixed marriages in institutional fashion, namely, by recommending Roman Catholic societies to its members in order to keep them from acquiring non-Catholic acquaintanceships which could then lead to marriage. This institutional seclusion is also behind Cardinal Frings' recommendation that Roman Catholic students join only Roman Catholic student clubs and organizations. This all ends up in a confessional integration of society and a walling of confessions off from one another.

The Protestants now, in order to maintain the confessional equilibrium, match these Roman Catholic recommendations with ones of their own without bearing in mind that thereby they are setting foot upon what is basically alien territory, i.e., institutional thinking and confessional integration of society. The hope of both confessions is to check the ever-widening effects of secularization by strengthening the church as an institution, but in this particular case of mixed marriages one compels people to be either intolerant or religiously indifferent. The other and contrasting possibility on the Protestant side is that of faith as an existential decision which challenges us daily and must each day be made anew, which no institution can safeguard or guarantee, and where the Christian remains open to his neighbor even when he is quite different from him.

Then there is the question of how Roman Catholics and Protestants differ on policies toward schools. Here also, to call for confessional schools * is to seek an institutional safeguarding of one's particular confessional inventory, with no regard for the fact that today we live in a confessionally pluralistic society in which education leading to understanding of the other person is at least as important as being grounded in one's own faith. As the demand of the Roman Catholic Church in Bavaria for confessional training of teachers shows, this road leads not only to confessional schools but to the restoration of parochial schools which the state is indeed permitted to support financially but where it would have no right to supervise what was being taught. Again, the result of these efforts will be less a strengthening of the consciousness of what we have in common as Christians than a reinforcing of the consciousness of our confessional peculiarities. Here as elsewhere in its pastoral counselings, the Roman Catholic Church is following the method of conservation and of keeping its members remote from alleged dangers, with the dubious success of provoking precisely the opposite result: escape from the circumscribed area.

Among Protestants there are also, to be sure, circles which call for confessional schools. In particular concrete instances this may be what is indicated, to have a school with a conscious confessional orientation in place of one that is neutral or indifferent in its *Weltanschauung* or even hostile to the Christian faith. In contrast to the conception of a confessionally oriented school however is the other conviction that even in the multi-confessional school, as laid down in the present

* That is, public schools with either Protestant or Roman Catholic children but not both. [Translator]

constitution of Western Germany, the requirements of Protestant religious education can be realized. In the Protestant sphere the educational model is different than in the Roman Catholic: in the latter it is the sheltered person with his conscience guided within the safety of the church; in the former it is the Christian come of age who exposes himself courageously to the realities of life but, within, is immune from the dangers threatening him without.

This can be illustrated from the educational task in connection with the modern motion picture. Both Protestants and Roman Catholics in Germany have a film bureau which rates films as good or poor and is supposed to warn people about this or that film. If these ratings are regarded by today's busy people as helps to keep them from throwing away their time and money, then that would be the sense in which the Protestant could answer for them. It is also conceivable however that the Roman Catholic takes these ratings as guidance for his conscience coming to him with churchly authority and receiving, from him, almost the binding character of a command of the church.

The way more in accord with the gospel would lie in another direction. Certain types of public entertainment should not be written off as unfit for polite society; instead, they should be included in the work of education as very real factors in modern life. Here one will get further if he offers young people samples of some things which he actually should not see or hear. With good and poor material before him the young person should be given the opportunity of arguing out for himself the merits and demerits of a film. Under the competent guidance of a teacher the task would be to arrive at criteria for evaluating films in order to guard youth against allowing themselves to be unduly influenced. Equipped with inner resources that enable him to make his own mature judgments the young person may go to movies of his own choosing; then he will not be doing it with a bad conscience arising from the fact that he has actually been forbidden to attend such a movie. Instead of simply allowing himself to be carried away and influenced by the inferiority of the film he will be able to laugh at it and make fun of it. Now he confronts the products of the modern entertainment industry with a freedom that will not allow him to be held fast and overwhelmed by them. Faith, if it is at all alive and fashions a person from within, carries in it such a measure of freedom that a person need not withdraw from the phenomena of modern life in order to remain a Christian; instead faith passes through the assaying fire of life lived in the midst of these phenomena, demonstrating thereon that it is genuine and is capable of distinguishing between spirits. The help which the church should offer here cannot consist in instructions for each individual case — do this and don't do that if you want to be a Christian — but rather in leading people to be adult Christians, which adulthood alone accords with the present-day situation of Christianity.

If the ideological factor is emphasized so strongly, as is the case in German Roman Catholicism today, then the result must be the taking of a special, confessionally determined stand in the socio-political arena. Accordingly we are

experiencing today that the strong opposition to the Federation of German Labor Unions (*DGB*) has led to the formation of Christian unions. Here again the need for institutional and ideological security has been stronger than the courage to trust Christians with being able to witness to their Lord even in spheres outside of the church.

Through these examples, marriage laws and policy toward schools and labor unions, we have shown how Roman Catholicism in Germany conceives of the exercising of political responsibility by Christians. Essentially it amounts to maintaining a special, confessionally determined face — ideologically pure and institutionally safeguarded — on the life and conduct of Christians in modern life. Here German Roman Catholicism, in contrast, say, to French Roman Catholicism, has not yet taken the genuine dare of treating the laity as being of age. At the same time it has not yet taken completely seriously the fact that today we can no longer shape society after the model of the confessionally landlocked state — we have to reckon with the development of confessional pluralism that has taken place. The French Roman Catholic Joseph Rovin has recently described the situation in France in this connection.¹² He writes, "It would not make me at all happy if the bishops would urge the voters to vote for this or that party, even if I were personally inclined toward that particular one. In France, 1957, it is my desire that there be no preaching either for or against any party, with the exception of the Communists."

Concrete Situations, Varying Decisions

The more intensively Christians plunge into concrete political life the more sharply their individual evaluations will differ; only by actual contact with definite, concrete problems does one see how hard it is, and how difficult in individual cases, to make the right decision. If the Christian stands on the side of the worker and sees their problems then it is possible that he will make decisions differently and look at many questions otherwise than the Christian employer or factory director. Both will attempt to arrive at their decisions as responsible Christians, the one perhaps on the side of the socialists, the other on the side of the liberals and conservatives. It is possible that they will no longer understand one another on long stretches of the way and that their ways seem to diverge completely. We are finding this today in Germany on the question of rearmament, where earnest Christians, after serious, conscientious reflection, come to differing conclusions. This is vexing, of course, and it can lead to dissension that is difficult to heal. But these differences must not result in a situation where the individual layman or theologian falls to theologizing in support of his particular cause, demonstrating that the other person is, without a doubt, in the wrong and has Christian dogma

¹² In an essay on the "layman come of age" in the collection of essays on *Christlicher Glaube und politische Entscheidung* (Munich, 1957), pp. 7-39.

against him. Such attempts at theological self-vindication pass over the reality and complexity of modern life. In any case, taking the adulthood of the Christian seriously should lead us to free ourselves from making naive equations, such as "Christian = conservative." Such an equation would make the church a party among parties, and the layman politically active in another direction could no longer count upon the church still being with him at the place where he actually is. The actual pastoral task of the church in modern society becomes manifest here: it cannot consist in putting this or that concrete political decision down as the only possible one, on the basis of theology and measured by the conscience, and in declaring all other decisions as "unchristian"; it consists rather in strengthening its members for unconstrained witnessing to their faith in the place where they actually are and where their path is ordered. This adulthood of the lay Christian does not signify an antithesis to the clergy, nor does it signify a disciplinarian tie to them, but rather a relationship where the layman complements the theologian in areas lying outside the competence of the theologian. The example of French Roman Catholicism shows us that here the situation in German Roman Catholicism must not be simply proclaimed as dogma, but that there is instead another, freer way — otherwise French Roman Catholicism's approach of treating lay Christians as of age would have to be rejected as insufferable to the church.

In the present day Roman Catholicism and Protestantism see themselves confronting the same problems, namely, how, in a dechristianized world, we can give vital testimony to the lordship of Jesus Christ. Discussion between the two confessions on church, state and society should always take account of this question, for only in so doing is the area circumscribed in which this witness is to be given. Precisely here, however, in the differing answers that are given, the difference between the two confessions will have to become manifest. The chief difference, as I see it, is that Roman Catholicism gives an answer in terms of institutional security and ideological polemics while, among Protestants, at least when they are really aware of their peculiar tradition, it is not the desire to keep even with Roman Catholicism and preserve confessional equality that must occupy first place but the daring to treat the Christian as of age. The Christian come of age does not in his witness within his various callings wait for concrete instructions from a church nor does he strive for confessional integration of society, but is instead, in love, in existential solidarity with his contemporaries, sharing in their burdens and not exercising his social responsibility in the formation of special, Christian fellowships alongside of those that already exist. For him, his social responsibility is exercised alongside of and together with his fellows, in a shoulder-to-shoulder struggle for a just ordering of society.¹³

It should be the case that the order prevailing in the church should itself be exemplary for the ordering of the world, but looking at things as they actually are

¹³ Cf. H. Storck, *Die Zeit drängt. Die evangelische Kirche stellt sich den Fragen der Industriegesellschaft*, 1954. Storck makes clear that the church did not call any special social forms into being alongside of the sacred community but attached itself rather to the existing forms that bore the weight of communal life; these it permeated spiritually.

it must be said that God's will can neither be captured in fixed norms and codices nor bindingly and authoritatively represented by the institution of the church. The church too has its counterpart, which not only ratifies and sanctions it before all the world but also judges it and calls it into question. Therefore the church's ministry to the world can never be aimed at establishing the rule of an institution. Its object must be the manifestation of love in the unselfish service of its members to the people and institutions of the day.

Church, State and Society - A Roman Catholic View

If we are to consider the Catholic view of the relationship between church, state and society, and consider it in the context "Catholicism and ecumenism," then we first have to give a straight-forward account of what there is to say on this question from the Catholic point of view; thereupon we shall try to fit this into the actual concern expressed in the words "Catholicism and ecumenism." The first task will be easier than the second.

"The Catholic View"

What does it actually mean to speak of "the Catholic view" of the relation between church, state and society? This is by no means an unambiguous phrase. "The Catholic view" can mean three things.

It can mean, first, the sum total of those statements on the relation between church, state and society, proclaimed by the supreme magisterial office of the Catholic Church, with the claim to infallibility. According to the Catholic conception, crucial questions of the relation between church, state and society are inseparable from revelation, the authentic understanding of revelation and life based upon revelation. This revelation — again according to Catholic doctrine — is mediated to man by the church. This means, according to this doctrine, that the magisterial office of the church, above all the supreme magisterial office of the church, the pope and all the bishops, are by reason of a special charisma of the Spirit of Christ capable of and under certain conditions have the task of defining infallibly which statements of revelation and those connected with revelation must be accepted, if one wants to be Catholic. There are, assuredly, in the Catholic tradition of revelation, in Scripture and in the church's dogmatic tradition connected with Scripture, also a number of truths on the relation between church, state and society which have been defined in this manner. The number of these statements is small.

Although it is only here that one can, in the real sense of the word, speak of "the Catholic view" of this relationship, yet something else is usually meant by these words; and that is, the sum total of all the statements on the relation between church, state and society which are binding upon the Catholic and which — again alongside revelation — are the subject of the so-called "ordinary" proclamations of the church's magisterial office. The Catholic Christian is convinced — he believes with the conviction bestowed by faith — that here too the charisma attached to the office, even if it does not in this case assure infallibility, still affords the bearer of the magisterial office a protection from error that is more comprehensive than that enjoyed by the ordinary believer. That

the statement is not infallible does not therefore signify to the Catholic that it is not binding. It is this area of doctrinal statements, then, that is usually meant when speaking of Catholic teaching on the relation between church, state and society. They are usually contained in the major papal encyclicals or in corresponding doctrinal pronouncements of the bishops in their own right, on the meaning and limits of the power of the state.

In a third and still narrower sense "the Catholic view" of this relationship can mean the scholarly presentation of the same, based to be sure on what has been expounded by the magisterial office but developed with the methods of modern scholarship. It is evident that a scholarly treatment of this sort takes account of many things and comes to many conclusions which do not belong to what is treated in the doctrine enunciated by the magisterial office, that doctrine binding upon the church.

In this paper I should like to relate the second and third senses and say a few things on Catholic principles on the relation between church, state and society; this will be my first and longest section. Second, I should like to say something about the concrete realization of these principles. And, third, I should like to indicate a few viewpoints for relating what has been said to the problem complex "ecumenical or Catholic?"

I

The Catholic Church speaks of society and the state as realizing the nature of man. According to Catholic doctrine man is a "social being." He is incapable, as an individual, of realizing the full potentialities of his humanity, the realization of which he by nature strives for. His being itself, his nature, directs him to look beyond his individuality to association with other persons. "It is not good that the man should be alone."

Second, this social predisposition of man evidences in its very nature a certain pluralistic complexity. Here we are not using the word "pluralistic" in the sense in which we usually do when we speak of "the pluralism of contemporary society." What we mean is rather this, that man does not fulfill his being within one single social structure. He is by reason of his nature directed to three qualitatively different forms of human association, none of which can be traced back to the other.

He is directed first to that form of communal life which rests upon the sexual predisposition of man and which makes possible the propagation of the human race in a manner worthy of man, i.e., in a manner corresponding to man's nature and thereby — in Catholic terms — to the image of God in man; in other words the *family*. Scholasticism here speaks of a *societas naturalis imperfecta*, a form of communal life into which man by nature pushes his way, within which he does not, however, attain the full realization of his being, but takes only the first step in that direction.

Second, man is predisposed toward those forms of association with other people in which alone he can, when confronted with life's various necessities and the exigencies of his environment, extend his control over the external world, this being the presupposition of an existence worthy of his humanity. We are speaking of the *societas imperfecta libera* — *libera*, since this form of communal life is not constituted primarily by the natural will of man, as are marriage and the family, but in the free decision to associate in order to accomplish certain ends; in other words, *voluntary society*.

Finally, man is by reason of his nature directed to that organization of his common life and activity with other persons and groups of persons in a limited area common to both of them, which guarantees to all a coexistence and a cooperation worthy of their humanity in the free realization of their human potentialities. That arrangement, rooted in the nature of man, which guarantees this we call the *community*.

In the family, in voluntary association and in the community man realizes his social nature, according to Catholic social teaching.

It is evident that when we here speak about the realization of man's nature, then this nature is conceived even in this social teaching as the reflection of divine nature, this reflecting being understood in terms of the doctrine of *creation* and on no account in terms, let us say, of pure Aristotelian philosophy. It is equally clear that those rights and those duties which in the last analysis hold man's communal life in the family, society and the state in cohesion are grounded in the will of God who affirms his own nature as reflected in man's. This point is significant for the proper understanding of what Catholic social teaching calls the *natural moral law* and *natural law*. This is natural law interpreted "theologically" and indeed it presupposes a definite theology.

Again we ask the question, now somewhat more specifically: Where within this framework of social self-realization of man is society to be found, and where the state?

Society

The expression "*society*" is ambiguous. It can mean the sum total of all human structures. We are not using the word in this sense here. Here we take it in the sense of the sum total of those realizations of the social nature of man which stand between the family on the one side and, on the other, the community, which in a particular concrete form is called the "state." In other words, essentially man's social predisposition, elaborated in a system organized for attending to particular human necessities. Here belong, for example, such configurations as public health systems, educational systems, arrangements connected with our occupations, the economy of a country, etc. This is society in the narrower sense of the word.

Catholic social teaching has some significant and important things to say about society in this sense.

(1) Society is closer to the family than the state is. At the same time, because man is one, society is related to the family in a special way. There exist between family and society laws governing their nature which cannot be violated without violating man's dignity.

(2) As this social sphere increases in importance it will have an increasingly public character, but it is first and primarily an adjunct to man's private sphere. Thus in expanding an economic community or an arrangement providing for public health or education, we will move from smaller, private forms of association to more comprehensive ones, from forms constituted along the lines of private law to ones constituted along the lines of public law. This movement is in accord with human nature (which does not mean that when the Catholic Church here constitutes forms of society that aim at both production *and* fellowship it regards the structures in question as necessary according to natural law, as it does, for example, when it places the family and the state in the context of natural law).

(3) In comparison with the growing historical change in the relation of men and their patterns of life to the family and the community, the social sphere of which we are speaking is more widely ramified as well as more fluid. This is because the principle of these social forms is more that of human freedom than of nature, which is preminent in the family and the community.

The State and the Common Good

What is there to say about the Roman Catholic view of the *state*? (1) I will repeat the definition of the concept of the state: that organization of the coexistence and cooperation of persons, families and voluntary social structures which substantially guarantees the common good. By "common good" we mean the ordering of those conditions of existence in a way that all these persons and groups of persons are in a position to employ their own powers and arrive at the most all-around development of their human nature made in the image of God.

(2) This common good, for whose sake the community exists, embraces, according to Catholic social teaching, law and order as well as the public welfare.

(3) The common good finds that in the law rights of persons, the family and the smaller voluntary society are already given. Law is therefore not only something fixed by the state; the state regulates the law according to the necessities of the common good.

(4) The state has, therefore, something to say about the organization of family life and of the voluntary society, but there are limits set to its declarations and ordinances. This is what we mean when we say that the state has a subsidiary function. It is there to serve something more primary, namely, what individuals themselves produce, or families, or the smaller social structures. Its whole

activity should guarantee to these social structures which it embraces maximum self-realization.

(5) Further, the community is to be so constituted that within its framework individual persons and groups of persons are set upon courses leading toward the realization of the common good in a manner worthy of man. And this is to take place in a manner that is moral as well as binding upon the members of the community. In other words, the state is not primarily a structure of power but of law and moral order. In implementing the law, however, the state is also a power structure. On occasion it can employ force in maintaining rights that are in danger and it can punish violations of the law, always within the framework of the common good.

(6) The constitution of such a state will change to correspond with its geographical area, with the living conditions and the stability or mobility of its people, with the preponderance of more familiar and intimate ties among its people or associations of a more social nature. The structure of the state will, however, always be to a certain degree a structure with authority in the sense that in the state there must be an authority which is able to oblige the individual members of the state to act in accordance with the common good.

(7) On the other hand, according to the Catholic conception there is not too much that can be said, when proceeding from the nature of man, about the structure of the state or the nature of its authority or its constitution. At the most it would be — and this is a thought which has been emphasized by the present pope above all — that the authority in the state should be so constituted that where those national obligations which are not already given in the nature of the case are concerned, that is, those that must definitely be imposed from above, then those upon whom these obligations are imposed should have the opportunity to have a hand in their formation.

Before we turn to the question of *church*, state and society, the Catholic view requires the putting of a preliminary question, namely, the question of how society and the state are by their nature related to religion. According to the Catholic conception, there is no society and no state without legal and therefore moral obligations. And according to the Catholic conception there are no moral obligations which are not authentic religious obligations. This is to say that — seeing we are still concerned with describing the nature of man — according to the Catholic view, it is impossible to conceive of law and morality in society and the state apart from a minimum of genuine and authentic knowledge and acknowledgement of God, more specifically, the knowledge and acknowledgement of a personal God connected with man's moral order. However much this knowledge is marred by errors in human existence and however much the realization of this knowledge and acknowledgement is burdened by guilt, according to the Catholic view man is capable, by reason of his nature, of a certain knowledge of God also in the sphere of state and society and of an inner knowledge of moral obligations, deriving from God. And it suffices if we say that to a

certain degree in every man, alongside of his civic and his social moral obligations, the obligation to worship God — let him call it what he wills or construct whatever theory about it that he pleases — this obligation, I say, manifests itself. State and society themselves have, to be sure, no direct religious vocation; but a society, no matter how it is constituted, must leave a definite place for the fulfillment of man's religious duties, otherwise it is acting against its nature as a human society. Similarly, the state must also create, within the framework of the realization of the common good, those external conditions which make it easier — and not more difficult — for men to choose their own religion and render to God the honor that is his due.

How this worship of God is to be concretely realized is determined ultimately — and we are now at the most crucial point of our exposition — not by the nature of man and therefore ultimately not by some social or political necessities of man either, since man is by reason of his nature capable of transcending all his natural potentialities and arriving at a point where he is entirely at God's disposal. How man is to worship God is determined not from below, by man, but ultimately by the sovereign counsels of divine wisdom and love which speak the last word to man in his totality. It is only by proceeding from this point that we arrive at that social structure that we have yet to examine, after society and the state: the *church*.

The Vital Principle of Human Society

What is the church? It is the mystical body of our Lord; he alone, the incarnate Son of God, is its head and we are incorporated into his body in his Spirit through faith and baptism. The church is that mystical body of our Lord which manifests the glory of its divine head — which was also manifested in the humanity of Christ — in the world of man, specifically in the whole world of man, and so much so that as our Lord said of himself, "He who has seen me has seen the Father," so we can in a certain and authentic sense say of the church that he who has seen it has also seen the Lord.

The visible life of this body the church, its life in the confession of faith, in worship, word and sacrament, in the holy orders of offices and ministries, this visible life has an invisible, mystical purpose: to realize the glory of the invisible God in this world and so to fill the world with this glory — and now an element crucial for the proper understanding of this image — as the Lord himself in his life, his suffering, his cross and his resurrection reflected the glory as of the only Son from the Father. What "glory" in this sense is cannot be empirically determined; it is a mystery of faith as the church itself is a mystery of faith, a mystery that can be realized only in the love bestowed by the Spirit.

The realization of this life of the church is not confined to the cultic sphere. It embraces the whole life of man and so also his social and political life. According

to a phrase used in a similar manner already in the first centuries, which was repeated in the high Middle Ages and is still valid today, the church is "the vital principle of human society," of the entire existing human social structure. What the ultimate and real meaning of man's social structure is, is disclosed not by observations based on natural law, on reason, on secular sociology or on history, but only through interpreting the challenge these data present to the faith of the members of the church. This applies also to all those human values for whose sake state and society exist.

In this respect, for our understanding of all these realities, the way we understand the "mystery" of man which unfolds itself in them is decisive, just as the way we understand the relation between grace and guilt in man is decisive (they are operative in his social and political life!), or the way we understand the working of angels and demons in society, economic life and the state (according to our faith they are operative in all of these). Here we can see that the question of how a person making social and political decisions applies the word of God in his deliberations to the realities of politics, or the question of how a person making political decisions is related to Christ or is alienated from him, all this is very significant in determining whether or not this political policy or this particular society really does justice to man as man in this world. According to the Catholic conception there is therefore no political system and no social organization which, if it wants to undertake concrete action, can radically exclude the question of its relation to the church. Any attempt at such an exclusion would be the attempt of an unreal and utopian political or labor union policy, or whatever. All existing structures, social or political, must take a stand with respect to the church.

In determining this relationship the state and society must not only keep hands off so that man has the opportunity to choose his own religion but also so that he can choose in a way that makes church possible in this social and political world. This means that these social structures must acknowledge their own limits in view of the sum total of tasks laid upon man in this world. Ultimately neither the state nor society disposes of this whole. They must recognize the church's peculiar claim, namely, to make a contribution — ultimately the decisive contribution — toward the realization of this whole. And they must recognize this peculiar claim of the church as one that takes priority over the state. Furthermore, one last thought in this context, society and the state must recognize that this peculiar claim of the church even has possible social ramifications, ramifications which correspond to some extent to the natural social ramifications of human life.

I mentioned the family first as belonging to this latter category. According to Catholic conception, marriage, the foundation of the family, is a sacrament, and indeed so much a sacrament that marriage is constituted in its legal nature precisely by that which is the bearer of its sacramental power and symbolic efficacy. Man is married and is in a family, and thereby he is at the same time

in the state and the church. The marriage laws of state and church must be so constituted that both possibilities are open to man, it being not merely the church's marriage laws which are so constituted that man can live in the state, but the state's marriage laws also making it possible for man to live his marriage as a member of the church.

Or take what I have said about human social life with respect to voluntary societies. Within the church such voluntary societies are also possible, penetrating into the area of society or the state, and not grounded ultimately in human nature or in the freedom of the human will to associate with other humans. They have instead, according to the Catholic conception, a pneumatic foundation; they are worked by the Spirit, they are manifestations of the life of the church, like the institution of orders in the church or the church's fraternal societies. The state's regulation of this area of voluntary associations must take account of these intra-church "social structures" in a way that makes it possible for them to function according to their peculiar character as church structures; otherwise the state makes it impossible for man to live in this sphere as a member of the church.

Finally, the church in its visible social form is in many respects a structure similar to the state — as biblical imagery itself shows. The state is obliged to recognize this state of affairs if it wants to do justice to its citizens, at least insofar as it must not exclude the claim of the church to a place in public life.

II

Readers perhaps have the impression that this consideration of the fundamentals becomes increasingly burdensome the more one allows it to work upon him and the closer one comes to the concrete realities of life. For this reason, at least in order to avoid misunderstandings and also to append some basic remarks to the principles outlined above, we must say something about their realization and the imperfect state of their realization.

The church's witness and her effect upon society and the state are within a world which is in many respects in a position still prior to faith and the church, not within her. This faith is essentially a free decision by man and accords with his dignity only when the believer is convinced by the credibility of the church's message and gives the yea of faith. Now, in many people, this conviction is not present. It would be basically irreconcilable with the self-understanding of faith and the self-understanding of the church if one should want to wring this consent from man. The state cannot do this either, even for the sake of the church. The common good, for which reason the state exists, and the boundaries of the common good are determined by that system which makes it possible for the persons and groups of persons living in a state to realize their humanity in freedom. How this freedom — which should be freedom not only of a few

nor of "the greatest possible number" but freedom for all — is to be realized in a society which is conditioned by the fact that the people in this society not only differ but are at odds with one another in faith and in their convictions about the relation between church, state and society, this is the problem of genuine tolerance, which I do not want to discuss at any greater length here. I am certain, however, that this tolerance can be realized only in the measure that each person and each group first makes a serious effort to become acquainted with the earnest convictions — above all, those of faith and conscience — held by other persons and groups of persons. The desire to be tolerant is more widespread than the ability to be tolerant. Therefore the knowledge of where the other person stands in his faith and conscience is the unconditional presupposition of tolerance. Therefore when we speak about questions of marriage laws or school laws or many other things, we so easily talk past one another. It is also clear that the realization of this tolerance becomes easier the more we succeed in going beyond this mutual acquaintanceship and begin to overcome the antitheses.

A second viewpoint for the realization of these principles: According to the Catholic conception there *is growth in knowledge* and understanding — in the Holy Spirit — of what has been transmitted by revelation. This is a process which is continually going on, a process that has not yet been concluded. Related to this is the fact that in almost any century there can be not only imperfect but absolutely erroneous views held by members of the church on this relation between church, state and society. Looking back through history we come across many such erroneous conceptions, held also by people in the church. It was not only human guilt, nor was it only error, which could perhaps have been avoided; rather, the church had not yet attained to that clarity of insight which it perhaps has acquired in later times; so that now it can no longer act otherwise than it does without incurring guilt. I have no difficulty in reckoning what is said today on the problem of church and state among those truths which in the time of Constantine, or in Augustine's writings or even those of Thomas, were not as clearly developed in the church's self-consciousness as they are today.

A third thing must be said, something we all know. Even when the church's position on society and the state is known, this does not signify that people in the church always act in accordance with this knowledge. This is the perennial temptation of the Christian, to fall in with the way in which society and the state conceive of themselves. In the Gospels the Lord has warned us repeatedly of this temptation, the bearers of the hierarchical office even more so than the ordinary believers; today the temptation is still there. It is quite possible that within the pale of the church many things happen which are culpable failures to realize these principles.

III

Now the last question: Of what significance is what we have said when we relate it to the questions of ecumenicity or catholicity?

Areas of Possible Cooperation

First, what we have in common as believers permits us and obligates us to cooperate extensively in the social and political arenas. There are social and political aberrations which we as Christians must, in the name of the gospel, unequivocally reject — which we must and can reject. There are demands which in the name of the gospel we can and do make upon the state and society. In so doing we must first ask ourselves — and here I should like to say a few things a bit more concretely — where in the bases from which we proceed there are genuine, unresolved antitheses and where there are mutual misunderstandings which have not yet been clarified. One needs to attend only one really serious discussion between Protestants and Catholics to discover the multitude of misunderstandings on either side. I do not in any way mean to say that at the conclusion of an effort to distinguish between genuine and supposed antitheses the immediate result will be that one can say that basically no more antitheses exist. It is perhaps possible that there are more than we see at the moment. In any case, however, the striving for clarity must become more earnest here.

Second, we must ask where these antitheses appear to be *insuperable* since they pertain to faith, or where they are perhaps conditioned by presuppositions of a purely historical or a purely social nature which are or are becoming problematic and can by all means be tested and brought up to date.

Third, we must ask ourselves where, in spite of diverse orientations in doctrine, common *action* is still possible under certain conditions. Such things do happen.

Finally, a last and very urgent concern. We must ask ourselves very seriously where among us — both of our confessions, if you will, or the three of them — there is the danger that in national or extra-national questions we short-sightedly seek political victories in state and society which benefit our own confession at the expense of that which is the concern of all of us, the unity of the church, also in its total relationship to the political and social sphere. This is very important. You are acquainted with the suspicions that have been voiced as to whether the Catholics are perhaps inclined under the present political setup in Germany to take advantage of the Protestants, whose situation is in many respects more difficult than our own, by making political capital out of the divided state of our country.* Similarly, one can ask if the efforts of the Protestants to effect

* Chancellor Adenauer is a Roman Catholic and the majority of the Christians in East Germany are Protestants.
[Translator]

a tie with the Patriarchate of Moscow are not to be regarded with the same suspicion. This is only to indicate the problems. Here many more discussions are necessary between us and here I believe that very much more cooperation in practical matters is called for in the church's argument with state and society.

Age et videbis

A second concern. I believe this fellowship of action to be important since I believe that here too Augustine's dictum applies, *age et videbis* — some things are seen only when one begins to act (also in the question of the unity of the church). Proceeding from this fellowship of action as well as from a discussion of our faith, it must remain for us a genuine necessity that we overcome our divisions in the answer we give to the question of faith itself. The Catholic Church therefore lays such a steady emphasis upon the primacy of this question in every ecumenical effort. Here the hierarchical structure of the Catholic Church is itself a question of faith for her, in fact a question which is of decisive significance — not merely some sort of significance — also and precisely for the proper understanding of the relation between church, state and the world. We are convinced that the results of any attempt of a gathering of Christians to, say, dispose more easily of social and political problems by radically excluding from discussion the question of unity in that *which* we believe or by radically excluding the question of hierarchical structure which the Catholic Church regards as instituted by Christ himself, are not only incapable of replacing the church as the vital principle in society; but we are convinced that such attempts threaten to jeopardize the real influence of the church upon state and society which comes, ultimately, exclusively from the Spirit and from Christ.

A New Orientation

On the other hand it appears to me that today in our particular historical situation, the prerequisites for extending the scope and variety of ecumenical and Catholic cooperation in this respect are especially favorable. My reasons are two.

I believe, first, that we in the church in the West are in a position at the end of the modern era * and that the form which our relations to one another as Catholic and Protestant Christians take is decisively influenced by one-sided elements of this modern Western era, elements which are incapable of further realization. In the examination which both of our churches are obliged to make of this new historical epoch, they must both see whether the typically modern has left upon them an impress which is either too one-sidedly positive or too one-sidedly negative, and, in connection with this, whether antitheses between

* *Neuzelt*, i.e., since about the time of the Renaissance. [Translator]

us have thereby been created which today, in our historical situation, have become quite simply antiquated.

I am further convinced that to a growing degree the further development of the church's doctrine, worship, organization and effectiveness in the world will no longer be informed by elements of Western culture as in the past millenium of the church's life; and that to a growing degree what is still believed and lived in the area outside of the West itself will be much more significant, also for the question of the way we approach the relation between church, state and society in the future. We can see quite clearly that this relation has taken a different turn in the churches in the East, for example, than it has here in the West. (It seems to me that for the relation between church and state the breach in history that comes with the great schism in the West is more decisive than the breach that comes in the time of Constantine.) We must give our earnest attention to the manner in which our brothers in the churches in the East — both the Orthodox and the heterodox churches — deal with the problem of church, state and society. With the West's scientific and technical world view now making its way among their peoples and with Communism in these lands, this problem acquires a completely different significance than it has had heretofore. These churches too must rethink the problem.

The Question of Non-Christians

Finally, in attempting to solve these problems we must today at the same time always ask the question of the relation of non-Christians to faith and the church. The development of the influence of these non-Christians — the believing pagans as well as the unbelieving non-Christians — upon state and society is so strong that we will not properly undertake, either theoretically or practically, the concrete realization of the relation between church, state and society if we are uncertain about how these non-Christians are actually related to us. From their vantage point, which differs from our own, some other viewpoints on state and society result. Islam looks at questions pertaining to society otherwise than does the Christian church. There is in Islam nothing strictly analogous to what we call "church," and the same applies a fortiori to the major pagan religions of the Far East. Here we carry responsibility for all. From the point of view of faith, how are those whom we today call unbelievers actually related to faith? From the point of view of the church, what is the position in the present day of those who we say are outside of the church? Only when we draw these questions into our ecumenical and our intra-Catholic discussions, can we approach the question of church, state and society in the way in which we should in the present day.

American Roman Catholicism and Ecumenism

To the men and women of Western Europe the Catholic Church is an ancient institution. It established the basic pattern of the culture of that area and the newer churches of the 16th century willingly kept much of their Catholic past. Even the naturalist influence of the 18th and 19th centuries did not sweep away all that Catholicism had planted into the life of Christendom. The Reform churches and naturalism invaded a Catholic environment inducing resentments which such action entails, but much of the old visibly remains.

The situation of the British Isles and Scandinavia is slightly different because in those lands the Catholic community either disappeared altogether or was reduced to unimportance. But even there the presence of Catholicism is felt as the root of the past, which always subtly permeates the present.

With the discovery of the new world which Europe took over, the bulk of the western hemisphere accepted and continued to live according to the Catholic vision brought from Spain and France. There was however one important exception in the region which we now call the United States. This area was the prolongation of Britain in a time when England was no longer Catholic. In fact, the religious vision imported to the English colonies was predominantly Calvinist, even for those in the Church of England. The High Church stream of Anglicanism did not flow forcefully into English colonial America. Nor was the Church of England dominant among the colonists. The free churches were more dynamic and they gave the tone to American ways and views.

Catholicism came timidly into this milieu. In fact it came rather early — 1633. However, the initial group of Lord Baltimore was small and from the beginning included non-Catholics. It was a venture to provide English Catholics with a home free from the vexations imposed on Catholics in England. Nor was it long before the Puritans outnumbered the Catholics who then became second-class citizens in the colony they had founded.

In English America, Catholicism, unlike its European counterparts, never was in possession. It came as an intruder faced with all the problems proper to such a condition. This was a novel experience for European Catholics and it must not be forgotten that the United States is a cultural prolongation of Europe.

In consequence the significance of the Catholic Church in the United States lies in the fact that it has a tonality to it different than elsewhere. The Catholic Church above the Rio Grande has a face distinct from the one Catholicism shows in Latin America. The American Catholic cannot look back on the day

when his church was the matrix of the culture of his nation. There never was such a day.

Due to immigration principally from Ireland, Germany, Italy and Poland, the present Catholic Church of the United States is a very large minority. There are some 33,000,000 active members of the church and perhaps some 17,000,000 more who with varying degrees of looseness somehow adhere to the church. This latter group shows up hazily when an official inquiry is made concerning the religious adhesion of an individual. Thus in the armed forces about a third will label themselves as Catholics, although by the parish registers only a fifth of the total population is of the church.

Another interesting aspect of American Catholicism is its geographical distribution. The great concentration of Catholics lies in a great tetragon formed by an imaginary line beginning in southeastern Maine and ending with the western tip of the Great Lakes, where another line will move south into Missouri where it is met by a line east to, say, Norfolk, Virginia. The fourth line is the coast of the Atlantic ocean joining southern Maine to northern Virginia. Besides this area, there is a narrow fringe along the Pacific, from Canada to Mexico. These two areas contain roughly nine tenths of the Catholics of the land. The other tenth can be found in enclaves like Louisiana, or in complete dispersion in an overwhelmingly non-Catholic community. (In Tennessee the Catholics are only two percent of the total population and there are in the state whole counties where there is no Catholic church and no Catholic pastor.)

The areas where the Catholics are concentrated, are urban areas. The Catholic immigrants from Europe, especially from 1880 to 1914, did not go to the rural communities but stayed in the large metropolitan centers. The countryside, therefore, is Protestant, but with the weakening influence of the farmer in the United States, this situation favors the Catholics.

Hence the backbone of American Catholicism is not a large, non-vocal, conservative rural mass. Nor can the American Catholic Church lean heavily on an ancient aristocracy, because the Catholics as a whole were and are lower middle-class whose economic resources are modest.

This rapid description will show how different the American Catholic Church is from its sister-churches in Western Europe. It has no traditional aristocratic center of support. It is urban and not rural. It is a workers' church. It has no golden age in its American past, which Catholics might romantically attempt to recapture. The church is forward-looking with no motive for nostalgic glorifications of the past.

These sociological factors explain much in the history and existence of American Catholicism. Because the Catholics came relatively late to these shores and entered into a cultural atmosphere not advantageous to their religious views, two things resulted. Immigrants with no strong convictions concerning their church easily dropped their Catholicism. The number of non-Catholics in the country with Irish, South German, Italian and Slav names is high. The past

leakage from the Catholic communion was more than slight. On the other hand, those for whom religion meant much, developed a stubborn and warm attachment to their church. These were the Catholics who imparted their spirit to American Catholicism. American Catholics are very conscious of their faith and, by and large, strict in their observances. The strongest characteristic of American Catholicism is its strong sense of loyalty which makes for conservatism rather than for a tendency toward change. One manifestation of this spirit is the high veneration of American Catholics for the pope, perhaps more visible than in some European churches.

The economic and social position of the American Catholics tends to make their ideals bourgeois. They came as artisans and unskilled laborers from Europe. They were all anxious to leave this stratum and achieve middle-class respectability. Hence their interests were not intellectual and the imposing educational system they established was directed to the social betterment of the Catholic social group rather than to pure intellectualism. Theoretical investigations were left to the Catholics in Europe whose work was pirated when it was needed. Only in the last twenty years do we find a ferment in favor of original thinking.

The feeling that the general community was hostile to Catholics produced in them a tendency to insular solidarity. This impulse to close ranks against a common foe worked out in two ways. Initially the groups were formed in terms of European origins. The German Catholics formed German Catholic organizations, unconsciously tending to form a German Catholic church in America. Other groups did similarly. The one group which took a larger view was the Irish group. The Irish had an American advantage over the others: they were English speakers. They accepted America enthusiastically and considered themselves Americans, though the older Americans did not share their conviction. The two tendencies within the American Catholic groups came to a bitter conflict at the end of the 19th century. The non-Irish, with the Germans as their unelected spokesmen, sought for an American federation of European Catholic churches, leaving each unit of the federation free to retain, accommodate and develop its own European culture. The Irish fought for the Americanization of American Catholicism. Due to the leadership of men like James Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop John Ireland, aided by the first world war which destroyed the feeling of being German in the American Germans, the Americanization of American Catholicism triumphed. In the resulting fusion the Irish took over the leadership. In spite of the mild discontent of the Catholics of non-Irish descent, the American Catholic Church can be called with more than superficiality an Irish church.

This church, thanks to the generosity and loyalty of its members, has become a strong national organization. There are, of course, regional idiosyncracies and local concerns, yet the overall compactness of the Catholic group is impressive — too impressive for the comfort of non-Catholics who groundlessly live with the fear of future Catholic dominance of the land. (For the last thirty years

there is indeed an absolute increase in the numbers of Catholics but not proportionately to the growth of the total population of the country. In 1925 they were just under 20 percent of the whole and now they are slightly above it. There has been no "outbreeding of the Protestants" in a "victory of the cradles." Although there are about 150,000 converts per year, there are no statistics for those who leave the church, and that number will be high.)

For the 33,000,000 active Catholics there are 135 dioceses or archdioceses. These are served by 50,000 priests, 10,000 lay brothers and 160,000 sisters. The church conducts at its own expense 259 institutions of university rank, not counting the seminaries for the clergy. There are also 2,385 schools for secondary formation. Through a coordinated system of parochial and private education, there are 9,772 Catholic primary schools, educating 3,710,000 children — one half of the Catholic preadolescent population.

It is perhaps this educational system which most unites the American Catholics dynamically. The most important element in it is the chain of primary schools which can function only because so many Catholic girls enter into the sisterhoods which are the principal force in the maintenance of the schools. The sisters are economical for the enterprise because they labor for a mere subsistence return.

II

The American Catholic Church is a minority in the land. How does it fit into the total community which is in culture and greater numbers non-Catholic? First of all, the American Catholics consider themselves as thoroughly American. Second generation immigrants are still nervous about it and must give manifestation of their sincere devotion. The third and later generations are quite secure in their own minds and have the typical American condescension for foreigners. There is a large sector which is ultra-American in a chauvinistic way: isolationist and conservative. There are even some who believe that only the Catholic can be the true American, absolutely loyal to the traditions of the land. The American Way of Life is somehow attached to the dogmas of their faith. They will speak ecstatically of the Founding Fathers of the Republic almost as if they were related to them in blood, which is of course hardly ever the case. The Catholic community has no quarrel with the United States but is passionately devoted to it.

In the metropolitan regions Catholics and non-Catholics mix socially without any difficulty. The reason is easy to see. The American Catholic is now secure in his Americanism and Americans by their code do not raise religious questions in social intercourse. Catholics are present everywhere. Fifty percent of Catholic school children attend the public schools and perhaps some 75 percent of the Catholic student population on the university level are in non-Catholic universities and colleges. Catholics are numerous in the armed forces and in all the agencies of government.

Yet there is friction. The non-Catholic majority collectively rather than individually suspects the Catholic community and feels threatened by it. Non-Catholics find it difficult to accept the declaration of the Catholics that they have no intention or desire to establish the Catholic Church by law, or use government as an instrument to further their own particular interests. This non-Catholic attitude is somewhat strange because statistics clearly show that the Catholic community is not outgrowing the other groups in the nation. This nervousness on the part of Protestants will become very visible in the next presidential elections because Senator John Kennedy, a Catholic, stands out as a possible candidate for the presidency. No Catholic has ever been president, and when the Catholic, Alfred E. Smith, ran for this office in 1928, anti-Catholicism was everywhere evident and of course politically fomented. The organization, *Protestants and Others United* (PAOU), is founded to defend the principle of separation of church and state, but its main preoccupation is with the Catholic community. This association is not very powerful, but it is highly vocal.

Yet, with the possible exception of the presidency, Catholics *qua* Catholics are not barred from any activity or place in American life. In certain fields they are feebly represented, but this is not because they are excluded but rather because the Catholics have not shown interest in participation. This is especially true in the areas of intellectualism.

III

Socially, therefore, interpenetration of Catholics and non-Catholics is not only possible but on many levels a serene fact. Religiously what is the American Catholic attitude to the non-Catholics in American society? The American Catholic takes the existence of Protestant churches for granted. Many of his friends and relatives are Protestant and he has no desire to annoy them. The American Catholic shows amazingly little personal proselytizing spirit, though he generously gives men and money for foreign missions. Converts to Catholicism usually complain that they received little help or guidance from their Catholic friends while they were in the period of decision-making. In this land where indifference to religion is the great danger, the Catholic seems to think that any religion is better than none at all. Without question he considers Catholicism to be the only true religion and he is interiorly condescending toward other religious forms, yet he admires religious conviction even in those who do not share his faith. In consequence he will give some token contribution to the social works of non-Catholic religious bodies.

Beyond participation in inter-church programs for public welfare, Catholics are conspicuously aloof from ecumenical projects. The European phenomenon

of conversation between distinguished Catholic thinkers and their Protestant colleagues is not duplicated in the United States. So little of it is done that one is almost justified in saying there is nothing. Most American Catholics are unaware of the significance and structure of the ecumenical movement, and this statement holds somewhat true for the Catholic clergy. The Catholic man of the street considers the ecumenical movement a Protestant affair and therefore no concern of his.

This does not mean that the American Catholic is devoid of all ecumenical feeling, but he channels it into reunion activity. The Society of the Atonement (At-one-ment), a religious congregation originally founded by Father Paul James Francis as an Anglican order and corporately received into the Catholic Church in 1909, has always been dedicated to the reunion of the churches. The society's most conspicuous effort is the annual Chair of Unity Octave. This octave of prayer is widespread in the Catholic churches of the United States.

Non-Catholic ecumenists show no great warmth for this enterprise. The reason is clear. The Society of the Atonement conceives ecumenism as a candid effort to induce all non-Catholic Christians to become Catholics. This is openly and frankly the purpose of the work. Even if this is a conceivably possible outcome of the ecumenical movement, it is certainly true that non-Catholic ecumenists do not give their work such an orientation.

The Paulist Fathers, founded by Father Isaac Hecker in 1858 as an American religious congregation with the purpose of presenting Catholicism to non-Catholic Americans, are very much interested in ecumenical dialogue. They follow it with interest, though their active participation is tentative. Of course, their purpose is to make Catholics of non-Catholics.

There is an American group called the Conference of Christians and Jews. It is not too effective an organization nor is it really ecumenical in its scope. It wishes to reduce social tensions arising from religious pluralism. Catholics collaborate with this movement, but their collaboration is hardly intense.

There is no American Catholic ecumenical organ, though the Atonement Friars do publish the English edition of *Unitas*, the organ of the Unitas organization directed by Father Charles Boyer, S.J., from Rome.

No Catholics, American or otherwise, were present at the Evanston meeting of the World Council of Churches in 1954, with the exception of some Catholic reporters of the press. On the other hand, there were two unofficial American Catholic observers at the sessions of the Oberlin study conference of Faith and Order in 1957. Non-Catholic reporters attached some significance to this fact.

To sum it up: there is no widespread awareness on the part of American Catholics of the ecumenical movement. There are indeed a handful of Catholics who do follow the activities of ecumenism but their interest is not shared with any depth by American Catholics as a body. On the other hand, there is much interest in reunion, but this is conceived directly as the entrance of non-Catholic Christians into the Catholic Church.

IV

The American Catholic Church is the biggest Catholic Church in non-Catholic lands. It is a flourishing church of great vitality and of great importance to world Catholicism. Catholics in other countries, conspicuously in France and Germany, have shown a lively sympathetic interest in the ecumenical movement. Why is it that the American Catholics who are in closer contact with non-Catholic Christians are so unconcerned with the most striking ecclesiological event of our times?

There are of course many reasons. We might consider some of them. First of all, the average American Catholic knows many Protestants but very little about Protestantism, and the little he does know is the fruit of polemics. He feels no need to study the Protestant churches. He associates easily and freely with Protestants but the religious dimension of his Protestant friends is not touched. The Catholic will not go to Protestant services beyond an occasional funeral or wedding of Protestant friends. Yet he knows something of Protestant services, because the religious formalities of public secular gatherings will follow vaguely the outline of free church cult, though the occasion is obviously not one of worship. On the radio and television Protestant preachers can always be heard, and for curiosity's sake the Catholic may tune in on such programs but this is not a religiously motivated act. This refusal to take part in Protestant services is of course the fruit of Catholic teaching whereby religious worship for the Catholic must be exclusively Catholic. The Catholic will insist that non-Catholics are indeed welcome to attend Catholic services but the Catholic, when invited to Protestant worship, on principle courteously rejects the invitation and in addition feels no desire to accept.

Friendly as are the relations between individual Catholics and Protestants, there is nonetheless tension between corporate Catholicism and corporate Protestantism. This is hardly surprising. The historical meetings of the two institutions involved strife, and strong animosities have been built up on both sides over the centuries. Today there is a universal trend to soften these animosities but there are strong traditions reducing the effectiveness of the trend.

There is a more profound reason for American Catholic coldness to ecumenism. The American Catholic desires the union of all Christians in one church and no historical event could please him more. However, he conceives such union as within the Catholic Church. He certainly does not entertain the idea of the Catholic Church entering into a more catholic church wherein non-Catholics would be equally members with the Catholics whose beliefs they at least in part reject. This for the average Catholic of the United States is to become Protestant and ecumenical fusion seems to him to be the denial of Catholicism. Hence if such a future fusion is logically possible, the Catholic believes that logic demands that he become a Protestant now. This he does not want at all. The American Catholic sees the problem in the following terms: either you are a

Protestant or a Catholic; the two cannot become one without one being absorbed into the other or both disappearing into a *tertium quid*. In this triple possibility the Catholic has only one choice, namely that non-Catholics become Catholics. It must always be remembered that by his faith the Catholic is committed primordially to the acceptance of the Catholic Church as man's exclusive and necessary bond with God. This is Catholicism's first demand. Non-Catholics may indeed consider such faith incomprehensible but it is not at all incomprehensible that *de facto* the Catholic is committed to it. If he drops this commitment, he is no longer a Catholic. If this takes place the ecumenical problem is much simplified, because the question of the Catholic place in the ecumenical union is bypassed. But if this is done, ecumenism is restricted to non-Catholic union. It is not truly ecumenical, excluding antecedently more than half of Christianity.

Yet is it not true that some European Catholics show great sympathy and assistance to the ecumenical dialogue? Cannot the American Catholic with his closer relations with non-Catholics follow the example of his European brethren? This question uncovers the practical problem which ecumenism has created for the Catholic. He indeed wants the union of all those who use the Christian name, and the ecumenical movement is certainly a powerful force toward such an end. Is not the Catholic logically forced to strengthen this dynamism?

There are two solutions pragmatically employed by different Catholics who are interested in ecumenical union. There is what might be called the Abbé Couturier school of thought. The kindly Abbé's slogan was: Unity at the time which God sets and with the means he gives. This slogan certainly pleases non-Catholic ecumenists because it summarises their own efforts. But this very agreement of Catholic and non-Catholic causes serious ambiguity. For the non-Catholic the greatest union now possible does not mean an ultimate reunion of all Christians within the Catholic Church, although it is abstractly conceivable that in some distant future things might so turn out. Practically and existentially no non-Catholic uninterested in personal conversion to Catholicism wants such a solution of the ecumenical problem. More appealing to him is the model of the Church of South India where liturgy and the Anglican belief in the historical episcopacy are accepted as worship and polity by free church adherents without any credal view concerning episcopacy being imposed on all. After all, to a free church Christian it is indifferent if he calls his church-heads bishops, elders, presbyters or supervisors. What's in a name? Nor does the old Reform tradition on principle reject liturgy and ritual. The Lutheran Church of Sweden always had them, and they are becoming more used in all the leading Protestant churches today.

Yet for the Catholic, even of the Couturier school, the greatest union possible now must be orientated toward ultimate union in the Catholic Church. The Couturier school merely wishes to bracket for the time being the ultimate objective of its efforts. For the moment let charity and mutual understanding bring all together. The Holy Ghost will take care of the rest.

Catholics who are interested in ecumenism but unpersuaded by the Couturier mystique, consider the Couturier approach dubious and dangerous. It unwittingly deceives non-Catholics by making it easy for them to think that the Catholic is willing to de-Catholicize in a process of gradualism. Such an event is exactly what the non-Catholic sincerely and simply hopes for. But the Catholic neither hopes for it nor expects it nor wants it. Is it fair of him to suppress this fact in his conversations? The hope of the Couturier school that the gradualism contemplated in their ecumenical endeavors will affect only the non-Catholic is hardly realistic. The ultimate objective of Catholic ecumenism cannot be honestly and effectively suppressed in the dialogue.

The Catholic ecumenists who do not agree with the Couturier school are not themselves united in their ecumenical method. Many are eager for Catholic and non-Catholic conversation either in personal meeting or in writing. They are anxious to be agents of clarification in a friendly interchange of ideas. They are willing to concede valid positions concerning history and dogma held by non-Catholics. They clearly point up the distinction between the substance of Catholicism and the accidental historical accretions which are subject to change. Some are more interested in stressing the changeable elements in Catholic life than the unchanging core. Yet this methodology does not put them in the Couturier school, though in some superficial respects there is a partial coincidence in tactics. To put it bluntly, there is much winsome romanticism in the Couturier position, while the other group is thoroughly intellectualistic — but not rationalist.

Yet the fact is that neither kind of ecumenical method is visible in American Catholicism. Here and there rare representatives of the differing methods can be discovered but they make no impression on the American Catholic Church as a whole. As has been stated before, the American Catholic in general shows no interest in or knowledge of the ecumenical movement. He has an ecumenism of his own, but it would hardly be recognized as such by non-Catholic ecumenists.

V

American Catholic ecumenism simply boils down to a cordial but general invitation to non-Catholics to become Catholics. This is done in many ways. The Catholic Knights of Columbus put paid items of information concerning Catholic doctrine in the secular press, and they offer to those who are interested a series of brochures on Catholic tenets. In every large urban center there is a Catholic Information Center open to the public. There are many lecture courses given on Catholic doctrine for the general public. Many seminaries conduct home-study courses in which simple books of exposition are sent to those who ask it. The recipients of the book are then assigned test questions to be filled out in writing and sent back to the seminary where they are corrected and missed points are clarified by personal letter.

In other words the American Catholics have put a highly visible sign of welcome on their church but they have not gone out to meet the non-Catholic on his native heath. I suspect that the reluctance to do the latter comes from the history of American Catholicism. For too long a time the life of the American Catholic Church was a struggle for survival and consolidation. The Catholics were afraid of the Protestant milieu from which they expected attack and proselytizing onslaught. This fear also produced hostility which is not yet entirely overcome in our time. This mixture of fear and anger is not propitious to a friendly approach to Protestantism in terms of Catholic initiative, and when the invitation comes from the Protestant side, it is eyed with suspicion and the awakening of old resentments. The result is that the average Catholic prefers to have nothing to do with ecumenical meeting.

Not only do we have general Catholic coldness toward modern ecumenism but there are even instances of strong opposition. Since the whole issue is not a lively one, the opposition does not produce any excitement. The opponents have an advantage for their cause in the fact that the general body quite spontaneously does not seriously want any ecumenical encounter.

The moment does not throw much light on the future. It is hard to say what will be, but one fact is undeniable. There is now more friendly talk in the Catholic press concerning ecumenical activities. In the seminaries the students manifest greater curiosity for the phenomenon, and with them there is little or no hostility. But they are interested in ecumenism as a tool for convert-making. If they later find out that it is not too efficacious for this purpose, there will be a need for some kind of decision about ecumenical work. Some may easily decide that there is nothing in it for them, and they will ignore it. Others may decide that the work needs doing even though no conversions spring from it. It seems to be safe to say that a number will be of the second group. In such a case there will be more ecumenical work in American Catholicism tomorrow than today. Nor is tomorrow too far off, for the young men in the seminaries will be in the ministry soon.

Beyond this timorous prophecy, not much more can be said. There is an effervescence in the American Catholic Church today. The young folk, clerical and lay, are manifesting a desire to develop their religious life more dynamically and more universally. In a period like this we can only watch to see what comes of it.

Recent Studies of Thomas Aquinas

A genuine and fruitful dialogue with our Roman Catholic brethren presupposes an acquaintance with the foundations of their theology and philosophy. Ever since Pope Leo XIII, in his encyclical *Aeterni patris* (1879), elevated Thomas of Aquinas to the role of official dogmatician of the Roman Catholic Church, Thomism has constituted this foundation. There are to be sure a number of important Roman Catholic theologians, Gottlieb Söhngen and Johannes Hessen, for example, who feel themselves indebted more to Augustine than to Thomas and for this reason have a greater understanding for Luther's theology; but this does not alter the fact that Neothomism constitutes the prevailing tendency in contemporary Roman Catholic theology. In the *Codex Juris Canonici* (can. 1366, § 2) the study of Thomist doctrine is made obligatory in the philosophical and theological education of persons intending to enter the priesthood.¹

Now, for generations medieval theology and especially that of Thomas Aquinas has been one of those areas which have taken a back seat in Protestant research, since Protestant scholars have concentrated their efforts primarily on biblical scholarship and exegesis, on a study of the ancient church and of Luther. It is all the more praiseworthy therefore that a few Protestant scholars are working in the area of Roman Catholicism. In the Scandinavian countries it is above all the two Danish scholars, K. E. Skydsgaard² and Regin Prenter,³ who have concerned themselves with the theology of Aquinas or Thomism. Two Swedish theologians are following in their footsteps. One, Hampus Lyttkens, who teaches at Uppsala University, has written an extremely thorough and comprehensive monograph on Thomas' *analogia* conception — so much a subject of debate at present — and the various types of analogy.⁴ A few months ago, Per Erik Persson, who teaches at the university of Lund, completed a significant investigation of Aquinas' fundamental theological concepts.⁵ It is this latter work that we wish to examine more closely here.

¹ The official Latin text reads: "Philosophiae rationalis ac theologiae studia et alumnorum in his disciplinis institutionem professores omnino pertrahant ad Angelici Doctoris rationem, doctrinam et principia, eaque sancte teneant." In other words, it is not only the *doctrina* and the *principia* of the *Doctor Angelicus* that are binding but also his argumentation [*ratio*].

² K. E. Skydsgaard, *Metafysik og Tro. En dogmatisk Studie i nyere Thomisme* [Metaphysics and Faith. A Study of Neothomism] (Copenhagen, 1937).

³ R. Prenter, *Thomismen* (Copenhagen, 1953).

⁴ H. Lyttkens, *The Analogy between God and the World. An Investigation of Its Use by Thomas of Aquino* (Uppsala, 1952). This book is reviewed in LUTHERAN WORLD, Vol. II, No. 4, Winter, 1955/56, p. 442 ff., as well as in *Verkündigung und Forschung*, Munich, 1957.

⁵ P. E. Persson, *Sacra Doctrina. En studie till förhållandet mellan ratio och revelatio i Thomas' av Aquino teologi* [Sacra Doctrina. A Study on the Relation between Reason and Revelation in the Theology of Thomas Aquinas] (Lund, 1957), 329 pp.

I

Persson entitles his investigation *Sacra Doctrina*, the same expression Thomas himself so often used; he emphasizes however that *doctrina* must not be translated with the modern word "doctrine," which has connotations of a rigid, closed system, but rather, as Thomas' use of the word indicates, by "instruction." By "instruction" is meant the act as well as the content of instruction; according to Thomas, "instruction" reproduces the principal contents of the biblical writings (p. 45 f.).

The problem that Persson was investigating first becomes evident from the subtitle of his work, however; he calls it *A Study on the Relation between Ratio and Revelatio in the Theology of Thomas Aquinas*. Since Persson also employs *ratio* in a broad sense, namely, to include all the philosophical elements of importance for Thomas, he is strictly speaking investigating two questions: first, how Thomas himself defines *ratio* and *revelatio* and their relation to one another; and, second, what significance, from our point of view, the influence of Greek philosophy had upon Thomas' development of *sacra doctrina*. Accordingly, it can be said that Persson's aim is to investigate not only the relation of reason and revelation within the theology of Thomas but also that between philosophical and biblical thinking.

While Neothomistic scholars have been occupied in our day almost exclusively with the attempt to make the blend of Neoplatonism and Aristotelianism that constitutes Thomas' philosophy relevant and with defending it against the attacks of Kantian criticism and modern epistemological theory,⁶ Persson sets out from the opposite pole and attempts to determine the significance of Scripture for Aquinas' theology. In selecting this point of departure he was aware that it was in contrast to the majority of modern Roman Catholic treatments of Thomas. In Thomas himself, says Persson, one can find nothing that corresponds to the long series of Neothomistic studies which seek to treat his "philosophy" while ignoring his "theology" (p. 244). The idea that philosophy should be purified and come into its own as philosophy by being separated from revelation and the theology derived therefrom would have been something completely foreign to Thomas. Just as Scholasticism in its prime sought to be in the first place "a theology of the Scriptures," so Thomas Aquinas, as a "master in the sacred pages," regarded exegesis as his task and himself as primarily a "theologian" (p. 14 f.). These statements of Persson must first be evaluated as a historical description of the self-understanding of Scholasticism and of its most significant representative. The question of whether and how far this self-understanding is justified we leave unanswered for the moment.

⁶ Cf. here *Kant und die Scholastik heute*, edited by J. B. Lotz, S. J. (Munich, 1955) and the literature cited there (pp. 256-274).

There is no doubt but that Persson's approach to the problem hits upon the central theme in the theology of Aquinas. For the problem of the relation between reason and revelation, knowledge and faith, is as we shall see later only the reverse side of another problem, namely, how the relation of nature to grace, and creation to redemption, is to be defined.

In the first main section of his work Persson investigates the relation between "revelation and *sacra doctrina*." The intellectual character of the Thomist conception of revelation strikes one immediately. For Thomas supernatural revelation is not God's making himself known in Jesus Christ, since *revelatio* does not signify to Thomas the once for all event of the divine incarnation in history but, rather, certain acts of cognition within the individual (p. 26). Two things are necessary before this type of revelation can take place in man, according to Thomas, the same two prerequisites as for every other act of cognition: first, the reception of that which is imparted, *acceptio cognitorum*; second, the evaluation and interpretation of that content, *iudicium de acceptis*. Since revelation takes place within, in the soul of the individual, and is realized only with the concurrence of the human intellect, Persson can say that it represents "ultimately an act of cognition effected by man himself" (p. 41). By this he does not mean to say of course that in Thomas' system man produces from within the contents of that which is perceived through revelation. Indeed, these contents are of a supernatural and divine nature and as such are not rational truths but truths of faith which lie beyond the boundaries of human cognition if left to itself. Belonging to these truths of faith are, above all, the dogmas of the Trinity, the incarnation, original sin and the sacraments. Through his *ratio naturalis*, the natural light of reason with which he is endowed (*lumen naturale*), man can to be sure come to a knowledge of God's existence, but he cannot by his own powers arrive at a saving knowledge of the truths of faith. Here he is much rather dependent on supernatural revelation which is for this reason regarded as a gift of grace, as "grace freely given" [*gratia gratis data*]. This supernatural revelation is directed to man's reason and is a correction and a completion, from without, of that knowledge of God which man already possesses although in degrees varying with the individual.

This brings us at once to the close and direct relationship within the theology of Thomas between reason and revelation on the one hand and nature and grace on the other. We might say that Thomas' conception of nature is teleological. According to him man, as a being endowed with reason, is by nature inclined toward the knowledge imparted by supernatural revelation since this knowledge contributes to the perfecting of his reason. Of even more importance however seems to be the fact that Thomas proceeds from a concept of nature that is not concrete and *heilsgeschichtlich* but more or less abstract. This is shown by the fact that according to Thomas the perceptive capacities of the *ratio naturalis* have remained basically intact, despite the Fall. "Thomas," writes Persson, "never gives expression to the thought that human reason as such could possess

a corrupted knowledge of God or that the natural knowledge of God could be inadequate" (p. 237). On the same grounds Thomas never connects the necessity of revelation with the fact of sin (p. 36). Thomas' dictum that "grace perfects nature, does not suspend it" (*Summa Theologica* I, 1, 8) applies fully precisely to the relation between reason, *ratio naturalis*, and revelation; for the *lumen intelligibile* with which man is endowed by nature is supplemented and perfected by the *lumen gratiae* of the supernatural divine revelation. It is extremely significant for the theology of Aquinas, as K. E. Skydsgaard has already emphasized, that his concept of grace proceeds from his concept of nature. Grace perfects nature and elevates it to the supernatural end, the *visio Dei* of eternal life (p. 177 f.).

The question now arises, how revelation is mediated and how divine revelation and Scripture are related to one another. Here Thomas distinguishes between various groups of people. The immediate recipients of revelation are the biblical writers. Yet Thomas emphasizes that it was "necessary" to fix this revelation in Scripture since it is intended by God for all generations. Scripture and revelation are not identical for Aquinas, in other words; instead Scripture presupposes revelation, which is an act of cognition. Without resting his argument upon a doctrine of inspiration, Aquinas teaches the sufficiency of Scripture as well as the objective perspicuity and clarity of its statements.

Scripture and Tradition

The way in which Thomas defines the relation between Scripture and tradition is of great importance. Persson shows that Thomas, in view of heretical misinterpretations of Scripture, speaks of a churchly "magisterial office" and accords it a *potestas interpretandi*; he points out, however, that Aquinas' theological concern is directed not to the "magisterial office" but to the preservation of faith and confession in accordance with Scripture. The criterion for the correctness of ecclesiastical doctrine consists, according to Thomas, in its "agreement with apostolic teaching" (p. 66). Thus in the evaluation of ecclesiastical tradition Thomas adheres strictly to the priority of Scripture. Persson therefore rightly calls attention to the discrepancy on this point between Thomas and modern Roman Catholic dogmatists. Thus Diekamp in his *Katholische Dogmatik nach den Grundsätzen des heiligen Thomas* (10th and 11th edition, 1949), as soon as he comes to "The Nature of Tradition and its Relation to Scripture," can suddenly adduce no more references from Thomas. It is significant that Diekamp also gives no explanation for this, after all, rather singular phenomenon. Diekamp's dilemma is that, contrary to his expressed intention for his work, he is on this important point unable to appeal to Thomas, since the doctrine of tradition which is so decisive for modern Roman Catholic theology is totally unknown to Thomas who nowhere regards tradition as a source of faith on the same level with Scripture. His principle of adherence to Scripture prevents him from doing so. As Persson convincingly demonstrates, for Thomas tradition does not

"supplement" Scripture, as in modern Roman Catholicism, but "interprets" it (p. 71).

In view of the current lively discussion of the Protestant and the Roman Catholic understanding of tradition, perhaps I may be permitted to make some comments at this point. Persson's study shows quite impressively, it seems to me, that modern Roman Catholic teaching on tradition, despite the normative place which Thomas Aquinas officially enjoys, is determined not by Aquinas but by the consciously anti-Protestant theology of Trent and the Vatican Council. The decisive alterations in the Roman Catholic understanding of Scripture and tradition which set in at these two councils have been strikingly formulated by Loofs:

What happened to Scripture at Trent happened to tradition — at least the tradition that can actually be verified — at the Vatican Council. It was repressed by another entity, namely, the teaching church. Trent decreed that tradition shows what Scripture teaches. The Vatican Council will have it that the church teaches what tradition is.⁷

A concrete example of where the employment of the Vatican conception of tradition can lead is the recent elevation of the *assumptio Mariae* into a dogma. Here a tradition was made into a dogma for which, as even well-known Roman Catholic theologians (e. g., Altaner) admitted, no Scriptural evidence can be adduced, for which even evidence from the first centuries of the Christian church is lacking.⁸ As von Loewenich has rightly pointed out,⁹ the elevation into dogma rests here only upon the desire of the magisterial office of the church and was consummated despite the strong misgivings expressed by Roman Catholic theologians.

The observation that between Thomas' conception of tradition and that of modern Roman Catholic theology there is a discrepancy that can hardly be eliminated raises the question of whether it is precisely Luther and the Reformation which can appeal with far greater justification to a continuity with medieval theology. Persson is inclined to answer in the affirmative. Yet he does not overlook the difference between Thomas and Luther: Luther is concerned not only about the principle of *sola scriptura*, whereby, with a full awareness of what he is about, he disputes the theological relevance of tradition as a second source of revelation; he is concerned also about "the proper exegesis of Scripture" in the sense of *sola fide*, about the central meaning of the doctrine of justification by faith, in other words (cf. p. 70, note 23).

Faith in Dogmas

As the concept of revelation, so that of faith carries an intellectual stamp in Thomas' theology. Faith is primarily an intellectual phenomenon since it is

⁷ F. Loofs, *Symbolik oder christliche Konfessionskunde* (Tübingen, 1902), p. 209.

⁸ Cf. W. von Loewenich, *Der moderne Katholizismus — Erscheinung und Probleme* (Witten/Ruhr: Luther-Verlag, 2nd edition, 1956), p. 247 ff.

⁹ An excellent survey of the discussion that preceded the proclamation of the dogma of the *assumptio Mariae* is given in von Loewenich, *op. cit.*, "Mariology and Marian Piety," pp. 219-279; cf. esp. p. 238.

directed to those divine truths which are not accessible to the natural powers of the intellect. Accordingly, faith is characterized by Thomas as primarily an act of *assensus*, specifically assent to the knowledge that God has of himself. Thomas defines faith as an "act of intellectual assent to divine truth, enjoined by the will which God in his grace incites thereto" [*actus intellectus assentientis veritati divinae ex imperio voluntatis a Deo motae per gratiam*] (p. 29). The certainty of faith rests upon the authority of Scripture which Thomas calls *fidei fundamentum* (p. 53). The *articuli fidei* constitute the actual object of faith; they are a summary of the supernatural divine revelation. Thomas can characterize faith as *cognitio* but adds the limitation that faith "is lacking in the inner insight into the truth of that which is perceived" and is thereby to be distinguished from "knowing," *scientia* (*Summa Theologica*, I, 12, 13 ad 3).

The task of theology, according to Thomas, is the *explicatio fidei*, i. e., the exposition and explanation of the content of the divine revelation in Scripture (cf. p. 83). Theology is to be a strictly scientific activity of reason enlightened by revelation, a *scientia* in the Aristotelian sense. The well-known Roman Catholic theologian, G. Söhngen, has charged the theological method employed by Aquinas with being "an intellectual expansion of the data of faith into new theological truths and insights," leading of necessity beyond Scripture, as has happened in "a so-called marian theology in our day" (cf. Persson, p. 80, note 33).

Persson lays special emphasis upon the fact that according to Thomas the conclusions at which theology arrives do not — as some interpreters of Thomas have asserted — represent objects of faith (pp. 79 and 88). Here the objection can of course be raised that this interpretation which Persson rejects is still close at hand when Thomas already in the first article of his *Summa Theologica* defines theology as "instruction in accord with divine revelation" [*doctrina quadam secundum revelationem divinam*] and says that this *doctrina* is necessary for salvation. But what is necessary for salvation certainly requires the assent of faith. Further, as Persson also points out (cf. p. 87), Thomas repeatedly employs "Scripture" and "theology" as synonyms. Here too one can hardly avoid the conclusion that thereby theology and its propositions are accorded the same significance as Scripture has for faith. The quite natural consequence of Thomas' intellectual concept of faith is, it seems to me, that theological truths, which are regarded as exposition and biblical exegesis, ultimately acquire a character more or less binding upon faith. Also not to be overlooked is that Thomas in no way limits the objects of faith to the statements of Scripture but includes the *articuli fidei* among those objects. But these *articuli* are posited only on the basis of theological study. On these grounds one will no doubt have to agree with K. E. Skydsgaard when he says that according to Thomas faith is "of necessity faith in dogmas."¹⁰

¹⁰ K. E. Skydsgaard, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

The Two-Story Theory

In the second main part of his study Persson attempts to analyze more thoroughly the way in which Aquinas defines the relation between God and the world. He emphasizes the differences between Aristotle's and Aquinas' conception of God. At first glance Thomas' *actus purus* and *primum movens immobile* do indeed appear to coincide fully with Aristotle's world view and his conception of God as the "unmoved mover." But this similarity is deceptive (p. 124), for Aquinas champions the biblical conception of creation, which is completely foreign to the whole of ancient thought; accordingly he conceives of God not only as *causa finalis* but also as *causa efficiens*, as the one who brought the world and all moving things into being. God is the sovereign, absolutely transcendent Creator, unconditioned by his creatures, whose creation is an act of love.

One can readily agree with this analysis. Yet it still appears questionable to me whether a determination of the biblical characteristics of Aquinas' concept of God provides sufficient grounds for disputing the so-called "two-story theory" which Roman Catholic as well as Protestant theologians are accustomed to use in explaining Thomas' system.¹¹ Persson criticizes this two-story theory, according to which the theology of Thomas is supposed to be composed of "two separate elements: a fundamental substructure of pure philosophical speculation and, built upon it, a superstructure consisting of the supplementary knowledge of God mediated by revelation" (p. 124). In order to clarify this and to do justice to the elements of truth on both sides, we must make some brief comments upon Thomas' proofs of God.

He says that the movement of all things must lead us to conclude that there is a first mover, and the efficient causes in the world must lead back to a first cause. He ends each of his five demonstrations with the statement that the first mover, or the necessary fact of being, or the first cause is called "God" (cf. *Summa Theologica*, I, 2, 3). This deduction is not a necessary one already for this reason, that Thomas here makes a personification which from the point of view of logic is not allowed, so that the first cause suddenly becomes the divine Creator.¹² In this way Thomas seeks to link his philosophical idea of God, from his "natural theology," with the biblical conception of God. We have shown how, at the end of Thomas' logical argumentation, a motif originating outside the theoretical arguments, namely, the biblical conception of God, makes itself felt and influences the results of the argumentation.

¹¹ Thus Emil Brunner, e. g., in his *Natur und Gnade — Zum Gespräch mit Karl Barth* (Tübingen, 1934). There is, he says (p. 32), in Roman Catholic Thomist teaching "a system of natural theology existing per se, capable of being detached from revealed theology and [yet] undergirding the same, a rational system complete in itself. This is the great antithesis to Reformation teaching."

¹² Werner Elert has called attention to this logical fallacy in his *Der christliche Glaube — Grundlinien der lutherischen Dogmatik* (Berlin, 1940), p. 81 f. We can on no account concur with the judgment that Aquinas' five proofs are "a masterpiece of firm, concise and clear argumentation" (M. Grabmann, *Thomas von Aquin*, Munich, 1935, p. 112). Johannes Hessen evaluates the situation correctly (in his *Grlechtsche oder biblische Theologie?*, Leipzig, 1956, p. 59) in that he agrees with Scheler that modern man rejects the medieval proofs of God's existence since he does not share their tacit presuppositions and makes "more subtle demands" of logical argumentation.

It is now clear that Persson rejects the two-story theory (p. 124) precisely because the content of Aquinas' "natural theology" is undoubtedly influenced by the concept of God originating in revelation; indeed, he even wishes to dispute, on the same grounds, the existence of an "autonomous 'natural theology,' independent of revelation" in Thomas (p. 276). Now Persson nowhere defines the concept of "natural theology," but he evidently understands by this term — and quite rightly so — those theological statements which man is able to posit by means of his natural reason. Proceeding from this definition however, the crucial question is not whether Thomas' "natural theology" can be shown to be influenced in its content by revelation, but whether Thomas has in principle accorded to man's natural reason the right to posit a "natural theology." The latter question must in my opinion be answered with an unequivocal yes since Thomas reckons with two different sources of knowledge for theology, namely, natural reason and supernatural revelation. He sees the truths at which reason arrives through its own powers as being confirmed by supernatural revelation; thereby he proceeds from the epistemological presupposition that the proper use of reason can never come into conflict with the truth of divine revelation. In this sense one can certainly speak of an autonomous use of reason in Thomas and a self-sufficient "natural theology." As his *Summa Theologica* shows, he has a twofold doctrine of God, one based exclusively on natural reason and another constructed with passages from Scripture, from revelation. Johannes Hessen was quite right therefore when with reference to this "twofold doctrine of God" he characterized Thomas Aquinas as the "founder of natural theology."¹³

The Unmoved Mover and the Incarnation

Although Thomas approaches the biblical concept of God, he remains to a considerable extent under the influence of Aristotelian thought. In that he applies the scheme of actuality and potentiality to God, he arrives at the conclusion that there is in God no potentiality which has not been already actualized. In this sense God is, for Thomas, "perfect" and "unchangeable." But Thomas is forced to bring this conception of God's unchangeableness into conflict with a number of statements of Scripture. Nevertheless he holds to it in that he terms the statements in Scripture about God's wrath, his estrangement from man and his turning to man as "metaphorical" (cf. p. 120 ff.).

The consequences of the idea of God's unchangeableness for Thomas' christology become clear from the following sections of Persson's study, which treat God's presence in the justified Christian and in Jesus Christ. For the incarnation is also supposed to be a divine "*actio*" which does not detract from God's unchangeableness.¹⁴ Significantly Thomas alters the New Testament,

¹³ J. Hessen, *Griechische oder biblische Theologie?*, p. 28.

¹⁴ In his significant work, *Der Ausgang der altkirchlichen Christologie* (Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus), published posthumously in 1957, Werner Elert points out that the axiom of the absolute unchangeableness of God is "the inevitable consequence of the Platonic conception of eternity." "Here is the underlying reason," writes Elert, "why the idea of God becoming man receded into the background in favor of the teaching that God took on human nature through the Logos...." (p. 43)

Verbum caro factum est, to read, *Verbum carnem assumpsit*. Thomas insists in so many words that God did not become flesh but simply "took on the nature of flesh" (*Summa Theologica*, III, 3, 2). Persson therefore rightly emphasizes that the idea of *assumptio* constitutes the central concept in Thomas' teaching on the incarnation (p. 225). According to Thomas *assumptio* refers to God as the one who does the "assuming," while *incarnatio* denotes the object of the *assumptio* (*Summa Theologica*, III, 2, 8 ad 3). That God has become man signifies accordingly that he has taken human nature upon himself: *dicitur enim assumptio quasi ab alio ad se sumptio* (III, 2, 8; Persson, p. 226). As Thomas sees it, in this act of incarnation, which signifies that human nature has in this instance been elevated to the level of God, God remains the fixed and unchangeable point of this movement he has set in motion. In this manner Thomas indeed succeeds in strongly underlining God's sovereignty, but it is equally clear that by reason of this manner of thinking the true and full humanity of God in Jesus Christ can really not find expression. While for Luther God reveals himself precisely in the fact that Jesus Christ becomes true man and goes the way of humiliation even to the point of suffering and dying on the cross, this thought of God's descent is for Thomas on principle unthinkable. *Deus est omnino immutabilis*, declares Thomas (*Summa Theologica*, III, 9, 2) and there is for him therefore "no movement of God toward men, for such a movement would be unthinkable from the metaphysical standpoint; instead there is an 'elevatio' of the human element" (p. 227). Jesus Christ is the *perfectus homo*. As is the case with grace in Thomas' theology, so also the incarnation is regarded in the first place as an elevation and perfecting of human nature, worked by God. As a result Persson can declare that Thomas' christology "constitutes a special case of his anthropology in general and his doctrine of grace in particular" (p. 223). With these presuppositions Thomas is also unable to give expression to the New Testament idea that Jesus Christ took our sins upon himself (p. 296).

After Persson has arrived at the distinguishing features of Thomas' christology by means of extremely lucid analyses, in the third part of his book he draws attention to the peculiar place which Thomas accords to the doctrine of grace and christology within his *Summa Theologica*. Anthropology as well as the doctrine of God precedes christology in Thomas. "It is particularly striking," writes Persson, "that Aquinas defines the significance of grace in its entirety without ever relating it to the incarnation and the work of Christ..." (p. 254) That christology and the sacraments are treated only at the end of the *Summa Theologica* is no coincidence, according to Persson, but a necessary consequence of the basic structure of Thomas' system. Persson points out that F. Diekamp and K. Jüssen have introduced a transposition in their dogmatics text on this point in that, in contrast to Thomas, they place christology before the doctrine of grace.

From the point of view of the history of theology, Aquinas' system can be understood as the attempt at a synthesis of antiquity and Christianity. He sets

out to be a theologian of Scripture but as such he seeks to blend the divine revelation recorded in Scripture with particular thoughts of Neoplatonic and Aristotelian philosophy. In the last part of his study Persson answers his introductory question as to how significantly Greek philosophy influenced the theology of Aquinas.

An Alien Metaphysics

The answer to this question is difficult insofar as the significance which Thomas accords philosophy and the significance of philosophical reasoning within his system are by no means the same. There is, as Persson's study clearly shows, quite obviously a discrepancy between what Thomas intends and the actual state of affairs within his system. Persson's answer to the above question turns into a sharp attack upon the official Neothomist thesis that Aquinas has constructed an autonomous *philosophia perennis* valid in itself. Over against this thesis Persson rightly emphasizes that one finds in Thomas neither an autonomous philosophical approach nor an autonomous philosophy; his concrete philosophy is rather interwoven with his theological system and cannot be so readily disengaged from it (cf. p. 244 f.). Here Persson is fundamentally in agreement with the results which the Roman Catholic scholars G. Söhngen¹⁵ and J. Pieper¹⁶ have arrived at.

To ascertain that Thomas wanted first and foremost to be a theologian of Scripture and regarded philosophy as only a handmaid of theology is not to answer the question, however, of what influence Greek thinking in fact exercised upon his theological system. That there is a very considerable influence could be seen quite clearly from our remarks on Aquinas' teaching on revelation, grace and christology. Persson sees in Thomas a reciprocal relation between philosophical and biblical thought with the two exercising a "mutual correcting influence" upon one another. Exceptions are Thomas' anthropology, which is philosophical, and the system of causality which he employs in defining the relation between God, the world and the center of the Christian faith (cf. p. 285). Accordingly Persson can say that elements of Greek philosophy constitute the conceptual framework of Thomas' system, a framework that encroaches upon the system itself (p. 298). Although Persson strives to do the greatest possible justice to the theology of Thomas, he feels compelled to conclude that it contains — what Aquinas himself was hardly aware of — tensions and conflicts between "biblical motifs" and a "metaphysics alien to the Bible." Thomas can attain to a unified system only at the cost of a reinterpretation or a surrender of central New Testament declarations. Persson rightly maintains, with reference

¹⁵ G. Söhngen, *Die Einheit der Theologie* (Munich, 1952), p. 250 f.: "In the in itself commendable enthusiasm for the philosophy of Thomas it should be kept in mind that this 'philosophy of Thomas' is after all a later extraction from the total work of a theologian."

¹⁶ J. Pieper, *Philosophia negativa — Zwei Versuche über Thomas von Aquin* (Munich, 1953), p. 80: "For all that, there is no 'philosophy of St. Thomas,' which can be treated separately from his theology."

to Thomas' christology, that his "formal principle of adherence to Scripture is as such no guarantee of a theology according with Scripture" (p. 296).

What hinders Thomas from realizing such a theology is the fact that he is bound to certain philosophical conceptions, among them his system of causality, the potentiality-actuality system and his Aristotelian conception of knowledge. These philosophical conceptions are, to be sure, modified in varying degree by biblical thought, especially his metaphysics of being. In his understanding of revelation Thomas also proceeds from Greek presuppositions in that he makes man's redemption dependent upon imparting of information. Thomas finds this process of imparting of information in supernatural revelation, and to that extent man is dependent upon divine grace. Thomas is therefore unable to grasp the actual biblical understanding of revelation, since according to the Aristotelian conception of knowledge true knowledge is derived only from the universally valid, not from contingent, historical events. "Revelation" is for him therefore not the once for all event of the incarnation of God in Jesus Christ but that act of cognition by which man appropriates truths of faith for himself. If the central thoughts and motifs of the New Testament were actually to assert themselves in Thomas' theology, declares Persson at the conclusion of his study, they would shatter the structure of his whole system (cf. p. 297).

Persson's study is distinguished particularly by its painstaking analysis of Thomas' writings themselves, the proper understanding of which requires a high degree of ability and practice in systematic thinking. Persson has quite properly declined to weigh Thomas in the scales of Reformation theology or present-day exegetical science. This does not imply, however, as we have already seen, an uncritical attitude toward the object of his investigation. Since Thomas claims to be a theologian of Scripture his theology can, and indeed must, be measured by Scripture. This Persson has done in discreet fashion. He is thoroughly acquainted with the primary sources and exceptionally well-versed in French and German Thomist scholarship; his study is based on these foundations. At the end of his book there is a ten-page summary in English (pp. 306-316). A translation into German or English, making it accessible to a greater number of readers, is something to be hoped for.

II

Under the title *Thomas von Aquin und wir* (Munich/Bâle: E. Reinhard Verlag, 1955), Johannes Hessen, the well-known philosopher of religion in Cologne, comes to grips both with Thomas' system and with the philosophical claims of Neothomism. As the title indicates, the author addresses himself not only to his fellow Roman Catholics but to modern man in general. It is with particular interest therefore that one takes up this book by Hessen, who has

won recognition, also among Protestants, for his unprejudiced account of *Luther in katholischer Sicht* (Bonn, 1947).

Hessen divides his book into three parts. In part one, the historical section (pp. 17-27), he portrays the life and personality of the "prince of Scholasticism," concluding with a short survey of Aquinas' most important works. This first part will not be our concern here. In the second, and systematic part (pp. 28-81), the author gives a very clear presentation, documented from primary sources, of the epistemological bases and the structure of Thomas' *Weltanschauung*. The third part (pp. 82-140) is a critical treatment of "the conquest of Scholasticism by modern thought."

Hessen says that the distinguishing of a twofold source of knowledge is one of the most important epistemological foundations of Thomas' thought, namely, the distinction between natural reason and supernatural revelation. Although these two sources differ as to origin and impart information differing essentially in nature, yet they are in "complete harmony." They are incapable of contradicting one another, according to Thomas. Reason has three tasks: (1) to lay the foundation for faith by proving the existence of God; (2) to elucidate the truths of revelation through use of analogy; (3) to refute objections to faith (p. 30). Hessen rightly emphasizes that Thomas is more modest in assessing the capabilities of human reason than is Anselm and does not attempt, as Anselm does, to prove the logical necessity of dogmas; instead he contents himself with "plausible arguments," *rationes verisimiles*.

The "potentiality-actuality system" is the key with which Aristotle and Aquinas attempt to solve the problems of metaphysics, says Hessen. God is *actus purus*, pure actuality, sheer reality. There is in him no unrealized potentiality. All becoming and all change consists in the fact that matter assumes form, a process worked by the efficient cause, whose starting point is God.

In his section on the structure of Thomas' world view Hessen reproduces at length Aquinas' five proofs of God, which in themselves "contain significant postulates on the nature of God" (p. 47). Thomas arrives at further definitions of the concept of God "deductively." Thus from the New Testament statement that God is spirit he concludes that he must also be "intellect" and "will." These statements of his must not, according to Thomas, be understood as "defining the accidents" of God; for as such they would contradict the nature of God as pure actuality. According to the perfection and unchangeableness of God, as Thomas understands these terms, it can indeed be asserted that God "is" intellect and will but not that he "possesses" intellect and will, since, for Thomas, that would mean that there is in God some as yet not fully realized potentiality (cf. p. 49).

Again and again Hessen rightly calls attention to the influence which "ancient intellectualism" exercised upon Thomas' anthropology and his doctrine of God. "The end and goal of human activity is defined by Thomas in intellectual terms, insofar as he transfers bliss to the realm of the intellect and not, as was done

later by Duns Scotus, to the will" (p. 68). For Thomas, the intellect is the highest faculty of the human soul and the exercise of the intellect the highest function of every spiritual being. It follows that his doctrine of God bears an intellectualistic stamp, which, as Hessen declares, ends in the thought that the blessedness of God must lie "in his knowledge" (p. 51).

In his analysis of Thomas' basic thoughts on ethics Hessen comes to the conclusion that Aquinas revived the Augustinian idea of the *lex aeterna*, i. e., the divine plan for the governing of the world. In Thomas this *lex aeterna* appears at the same time as *lex naturalis*, the moral law inherent in the order of things. To the question of how one is to know what is right and wrong, Thomas answers with his doctrine of *synteresis* * (p. 69).

In this systematic part of his work Hessen comes to the conclusion that Thomas' world view is constructed with the help of essentially "rational means" and rests upon natural knowledge and insights from philosophy. Thomas' theology constitutes the conclusion of his rationally constructed system; its statements are based upon the testimony of Scripture, upon supernatural revelation. "As his doctrine of God receives its theological crown in the doctrine of the Trinity and his doctrine of creation in the doctrine of grace, so his doctrine of man is crowned by the doctrine of the God-man" (p. 78).

A Philosophia Perennis?

These statements by Hessen should not be taken in isolation, however. He in no way wants to imply that Aquinas' doctrines of God, of creation and of man represent purely philosophical phenomena and his doctrines of the Trinity, of grace and of christology purely theological phenomena. Not at all. In the third and critical part of his book he arrives at the conclusion — similar to that of Persson — that in Aquinas philosophy is, despite its relative autonomy, still subject to theology. While Persson is for this reason concerned more with Aquinas' theology than with his philosophy, Hessen asks to what extent this "philosophy [which has come to be] bound to the Church" and which is dependent upon Scholastic theology can still lay claim to being valid today. Here Hessen contrasts Thomas' conceptual realism with modern epistemological theory which questions the logical value of certain judgments (p. 98). Another contrast, says Hessen, is that in his philosophizing Thomas regards truth not as something that is "discovered" [*etwas Aufgegebenes*] but basically as something "given" [*etwas Gegebenes*] (p. 83). Thomas' philosophy is of a receptive nature, it is, like Scholastic philosophy in general, a "philosophy of [external] authority" and as such is concerned about harmonizing the most important theological and philosophical movements (cf. p. 85 f).

* The idea that man is possessed, also after the fall, with the unfailing urge to do good. [Translator]

Hessen is far from reproaching Aquinas for his historically conditioned understanding of philosophy. What he does emphatically object to however is that today this philosophy of Thomas is disseminated by the Neothomists as "the fulfillment of philosophy," as a *philosophia perennis* (pp. 86 and 134 ff.). Hessen feels that the decisive transformations accompanying modern science and those which have taken place in epistemology since Kant's critiques¹⁷ can only lead us to the conclusion that "modern philosophy signifies an inner and final conquest of Scholasticism" (p. 91). Neothomism's program is doomed to failure: to "revive" Thomas' system to meet the demands of our age while at the same time holding fast to the foundations of that system and its inner structure is "an impossible feat" (p. 134 ff.).

Now Hessen criticizes Neothomism not only on epistemological grounds but also as a theologian concerned about the proper understanding of the message of the New Testament. His basic theological objection to Aquinas' system is that in it the distinction between religion and philosophy, between faith and knowledge is erased by the influence of the intellectualism of ancient thought. Where the disciples of Thomas interpret faith as an "intellectual act," there the tension between faith and knowledge has been suspended and the nature of faith as a "primarily irrational and emotional power" has been misconstrued. Here Hessen draws attention to 1 Cor. 1:18-24 and declares that in this respect Paul, Augustine and Luther had a better understanding of Christian faith (p. 108). It is in the light of these observations by Hessen that his theological concern is properly understood. He is seeking to make modern Roman Catholic theology, particularly Neothomist theology, aware of the difference — indeed, the antithesis — between ancient and biblical thought.¹⁸

Because of its easily grasped organization of the material and its lucid style, Hessen's book can be recommended as probably the best introduction in German to Thomas Aquinas. It is precisely his critical view of Thomas, arrived at after comprehensive philosophical and theological study, that contributes to a better understanding of medieval Scholasticism and Neothomism.

¹⁷ Hessen sees clearly that the so-called "concentration upon the object," which is evident in more recent ontology and epistemology, in no way signifies a return to Scholasticism and Thomism (cf. *Thomas von Aquin und wir*, p. 133). We must also agree with von Loewenich (*op. cit.*, p. 143) when he says that the Neothomist "cry that Kant is finished" is somewhat "premature."

¹⁸ It is this concern, a theological one, that constitutes the actual theme of Hessen's latest publication, *Grlechtsche oder biblische Theologie?* in which he calls upon Roman Catholic theologians to "create a biblical theology" which, when realized, he anticipates will bring Roman Catholic theology a step nearer to Protestant theology (p. 190).

FROM THE WORK OF THE LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION AND THE ECUMENICAL WORLD

GENEVA DIARY

The news of the death of Dr. Hermann Ullmann reminded us of how much he had contributed to the Lutheran World Federation. He was a familiar figure on the campus at 17 route de Malagnou during the years after the war, until he was forced to retire because of blindness. Even before the formation of the Federation he teamed up with Dr. Michelfelder to dream, plan and discuss what would have to be done to create a living unity again in the embers of Europe and Eastern Europe. He was useful first of all in interpreting to Dr. Michelfelder the traditions, the history and the dreams of all Germans, both those who had gone astray and those who had been loyal to the Christian faith and wanted a better future than that which had been offered them in the thirties and early forties.

Dr. Ullmann brought to the work of the church his vast experience as a journalist in Berlin where he had spent most of his adult life. He had watched the whirling developments of the postwar years of the first world war. He had traveled extensively, which gave him the advantage of knowing not only Germany and its people but also both South America and North America. As he grew older he tried to synthesize both his interesting political views and a strong, mature Christian faith that had grown against a background of what seemed to be complete world chaos. Instead of withdrawing into himself he emerged as a person who tried to clarify the issues of the day and to make the Christian faith living and real in that situation. Even in his later years he did not succumb to the temptation that overtakes so many, of enveloping himself in memories and a pleasant nostalgia of times past. Even though he could look back upon a career that had ended in his chosen field he now set himself to speak for the laity in a world that badly needed a calm voice and clear judgment.

In the LWF he not only assisted the leader of the relief and church aid and with other projects of burning urgency; he and Dr. Michelfelder thought and worked along the lines of using this period as a time when the church could again speak the word to this new generation. Dr. Ullmann also saw in this period the possibility of bringing the churches into closer understanding of and service to one another. He planned and worked on the "News Bulletin" initiated by Dr. Michelfelder in 1946. In the first months and years after the war no more significant piece of literature came to our member churches than this one. After years of isolation it would take many years before all of us understood each other again, before we understood what

had occurred and what was now true within the churches. This news bulletin crossed continents and borders and languages to give people encouragement and hope as they tried to restore contacts and as they worked together for common purposes.

In the LWF he was to assist in editing its first regular journal, the Lutheran World Review/Lutherische Welt-Rundschau. Then, later, Ullmann pioneered in launching the Lutherische Rundschau, for which he solicited the help of Scandinavians, Germans and Americans in trying to speak to the theologian as well as the layman. It was in this period that Ullmann reached his greatest effectiveness for the Federation in these postwar years. This magazine was the immediate forerunner of our present one published in two languages and paved the way for the Federation to launch out on this great venture. During this time he was concerned with the inner developments of the German and Scandinavian churches. He sought to prevent a return to the old forms that had existed for many years, seeking instead to build new upon the old. He tried to prod men into thinking about the issues confronting the church in a way that would purify and renew it; and he could be impatient with those who bickered or manifested meanness or pettiness.

When total blindness came upon him, it was some months before he could fully understand and accept this fact; but once he had struggled through to the ultimate victory over even this handicap he became once again the Ullmann of old who knew how to move in a number of areas. Thus he spent his last years lecturing and writing, keeping people aware of his dreams and hopes through the same lucid thought and effective pen.

The LWF is thankful to God for having brought this friend into the work and for having guided us so well in those early days. We will long remember him with appreciation for what he offered and for what he did.

CARL E. LUND-QUIST

Theology

Observations on Lutheran Theology in a Latin Milieu

While visiting the Latin American countries recently I was given the opportunity, on the occasion of the opening of the academic year of the Lutheran seminary in Buenos Aires, to answer the question, "What does the LWF expect of the work of the Lutheran seminary in Buenos Aires?" The question that was thus posed and the answer which can be given to it are also in a certain respect valid for the theological tasks of Lutheranism in all Latin American countries. After such a short visit one cannot of course go around in Latin America giving advice like a theologian with a wealth of experience behind him. I am concerned rather with observations which emerge quite naturally in the course of an encounter with the work of the church and its theology.

A Recent Arrival

First, attention must be drawn to the fact that Lutheran theological work on Latin American soil is really something quite *new*.

To be sure, the Lutheran church in Brazil has been carrying on its work for over a hundred years now. It is also one of the strongest non-Catholic churches in that area. But the fact remains that pastors have been receiving their theological training in Brazil only since the end of the second world war. Before that all theological students of Brazilian birth were sent back to the mother church in Germany to pursue their studies. For the rest, pastors were brought over from Germany. In Sao Leopoldo a new theological school is being built up; it is being promoted with astounding energy and raises its own funds. At present there are 27 students at this institution, and there is already a young generation of pastors in Brazil who have received the whole of their training here.

But there are still some obstacles to the development of Portuguese Lutheran theology. First — for reasons which can be explained — teaching is done predominantly in German. This is owing partly to the necessity of serving the congregations in two languages and partly to the lack of literature in the language of the country. A third factor is the lack of indig-

enous faculty members. It becomes clear that all these circumstances can mean only a gradual development of Portuguese theology. But this by no means implies that people are not prepared to do everything possible to hasten this process.

It was really during the second world war, when the German language was banned, that the church was compelled to carry out its ministry in the language of the country. It was in fact as a consequence of this step undertaken by the government that the church was compelled, as it were, to carry on its missionary activity and its theological work in Portuguese. The emergence of a new generation which has received its theological training in Brazil will soon make itself felt, of course, in the area of theology.

In the Spanish-speaking area of Latin America too, Lutheran theological work has only recently been initiated. This is bound up with the growth of Lutheran congregations in Latin America and is connected with the conviction, expressed by the rector of the theological faculty in Buenos Aires at the conference of Lutheran theological professors in St. Paul, that neither missionary activity nor pastoral work in the congregations is possible without theological training in Latin America itself. The establishing of the seminary in Buenos Aires sprang from this conviction. This year will be an historic one for this school, in that the first candidates for the ministry will be graduating after completing their training there. It is a convincing demonstration of the need for this school that, four years after it was started, seventeen students are already pursuing their studies there. I was told that when the building began on this school, today one of the finest and best church institutions of Latin America, only one student was intending to study there. Although in the first years there was no time to recruit students, the hope now is that the number of students will soon be doubled. But this will necessitate an expansion of the faculty, a task which has already proved difficult in past years. In Mexico City too the training of candidates for the ministry was recently begun. Apart from the difficulties already mentioned in connection with theological education, here special legal difficulties peculiar to the country have to be taken into account. In any case, however, there are already students at this institution preparing themselves to work as pastors of the Lutheran church.

North American Patterns

The work of the theological institutions in Latin America suffers in general from the fact that the program of instruction has been taken over in its entirety from the mother church in a foreign country. Thus I was astonished, for example, when it came out in the course of a consultation with professors of the theological seminaries in Mexico City that no attempt had ever been made to arrive at a uniform curriculum. The occasion of my visit was the very first time that these professors had met to discuss this question. The consequence is of course that in the whole Latin American area theological study is still carried on primarily according to the pattern of theological education in North America. This means, unfortunately, that thorough and scholarly theological work is underrated and that a theological professor's qualifications reside almost exclusively in his Christian personality and piety and hardly at all in his knowledge of theology or his openness for critical theological work. The only exceptions to this rule are the two union faculties in Mexico City and Buenos Aires and, fortunately, the two Lutheran faculties in Sao Leopoldo and Buenos Aires. In these places the undoubtedly successful attempt has been made to develop genuine theological work on Latin American soil. In connection with this effort, a start has also been made toward obtaining indigenous faculty members, which of course has not yet had any concrete results in the case of the young Lutheran institutions. But the fact that the will to undertake genuine theological work exists in these institutions gives these too a certain superiority in comparison with other Latin American training institutes for pastors.

Theological Literature

Until an indigenous Latin American theology can be developed, the gap in theological work will have to be bridged by the translation of foreign theological literature. A survey of the available translations in Spanish and Portuguese will confirm what was mentioned above, namely, that in general theology is underrated. Unfortunately the only works which are accessible are primarily books with fundamentalist leanings, on biblical theology. Edifying remarks are substituted for systematic theology. Unfortunately the plans for Lutheran publications show as yet no conscious endeavor to put an end to this situation by

publishing theological works of a high standard. It is not much help that outmoded exegetical and systematic works of a Lutheran character are translated simply because these are used as authorities in some churches. Even the translation of the Formula of Concord will not really be very stimulating for the development of an indigenous theology. (One ought seriously to consider, for once, which of the Lutheran confessions could be introduced in a young church as writings which are inspiring from the point of view both of church and theology.) I am convinced that precisely in regard to theology Lutheranism could fulfill a genuine mission in Latin America too. I say this with a precise awareness of our mistakes and in the conviction that in our day we ourselves ought to learn much more than we do from the heritage of Lutheran theology. Without a proper appreciation of theology it will not be possible to make any progress. But this requires a proper appreciation of work in the fields of critical exegesis and systematic theology. This must be expressed as a wish for the work in Latin America also.

It would be an inauspicious beginning if our congregations in Latin America were simply to immerse themselves in their practical tasks and be overwhelmed theologically by the spirit of a general Protestant fundamentalism. That this danger exists cannot be denied. But the fact that on the other hand this danger is clearly recognized and combated precisely by the responsible theologians in Latin America is a good sign that developments can take another direction. Now it remains to convince the mother churches which stand behind the missions. The task will not be an easy one.

Toward a Genuine Encounter

What has been pointed out in regard to the general theological situation can be illustrated and perhaps elaborated at one point in particular. I am thinking of the encounter with the Roman Catholic Church and its theology. During my visit I constantly tried to obtain information about this encounter. Of course it was emphasized again and again that this question is a "practical" one for Latin America. On a continent where the overwhelming majority of the population is nominally Roman Catholic the "encounter" makes itself felt again and again for non-Catholic churches in questions connected with actual pastoral work, in mixed marriages,

etc. But these practical matters have produced such irritation in the relationship to the Roman Catholic Church that it has hardly been possible for a genuine encounter to take place. This is true even when one disregards extreme cases, such as the persecution of non-Catholic churches, and thinks of those countries in which the legal situation is somewhat more favorable. This is, as I have said, understandable from a practical point of view, but theologically it is only to be deplored, as much for Roman Catholicism as for Protestantism.

Because of the lack of theological encounter there can still be discerned among Protestants in Latin America an out-of-date reaction — colored in the last analysis by emotion — toward Roman Catholic theology. Astonishingly enough, people in these Protestant circles in Latin America are still thinking in terms only of a primitive kind of Roman Catholicism. Looking at Roman Catholic piety and the indigenous clerical hierarchy, this attitude may still be valid. That corruption does in fact exist within the priesthood is recognized and deplored even by unprejudiced Roman Catholics. It is only natural that theological indifference or even ignorance should be bound up with this. But that is only one side of the question.

In Latin America today a tendency toward a renewal in the church and in theology is slowly making headway within Roman Catholicism. The signs are few as yet, but they are there. Especially through the use of foreign priests and theologians, new currents have been introduced into the Roman church and its liturgy. In the liturgical field this development is perhaps favored by the special talent of the Latin Americans for music and external show. It is still too early to speak of a renewal of the Roman church in Latin America. Such a renewal is still hampered by a generally primitive type of piety and by a very marked, primitive type of sectarianism (for example in Brazil on account of African influence). But a Protestantism which is equipped theologically only for an encounter with a primitive type of Roman Catholicism will not be equal to the possible developments arising from the powers of renewal at work within Roman Catholicism.

This development can easily be illustrated by referring to one aspect of it, the liturgical life of the church. Protestantism in Latin America (and Lutheranism in general is no exception) is characterized by an anti-liturgical

puritanism. Here it is a matter of the antithesis between word and sacrament, between a piety bound to the liturgy and one accustomed to a free order of worship. But precisely here Lutheran theology cannot continue to go along. Today both exegetical and systematic studies as well as insights from the history of the Reformation have taught us otherwise than that we can continue on carrying old ballast as we go. An unliturgical Protestantism which is incapable of appreciating the sacramental life of the church and the liturgical activity of the congregation is simply useless in an encounter with Roman Catholicism. If today there are attempts at a liturgical renewal in Roman Catholicism, this will have an inevitable influence on Latin America. For our part it will not suffice to bring up here the reproach about "magic" or to content ourselves with the assertion that Latin is unintelligible. I was not surprised to hear that even distinguished converts from Roman Catholicism to Protestantism in Latin America can have difficulty in finding their place in the church because they are pushed into a liturgical vacuum. The only way in which they can attempt to assert their Protestantism is in the transference of the authority of the pope to the Bible; in so doing they are swallowed up by fundamentalist tendencies, however.

There is no doubt that Protestantism in Latin America must equip itself in a new way for the encounter with Roman Catholicism. Many people will misinterpret this as Lutheran self-consciousness, but I am inclined to claim with all due caution that here Lutheran theology might be in a position to point the way to other churches. Unfortunately, even Lutheran theologians seem to find it very difficult to bring about a theological encounter with Roman Catholicism. Astonishingly enough a modest beginning of a conversation of this kind has just been made with the Jesuits in Sao Leopoldo. I did not discover whether other groups also have similar contacts.

Naturally it could be just as important for the Roman church to establish contact with the other churches. Roman Catholicism in Latin America can of course be regarded as a Catholicism which has never encountered the Reformation. It is precisely therein that its weakness may lie, for a Catholicism of this sort is of little value judged even according to Roman theology of today. The Roman church in Europe, for example, has its encounter with the church of the Reformation

to thank for the many impulses toward renewal. For this reason the task of Lutheran theology in Latin America could be to become *the voice of the Reformation*, so that thereby the blessing for the church, inherent in the Reformation, may be really recognized. Some are of the opinion that the hour of the Reformation has now come in Latin America. Be that as it may, the task of Lutheran theology, with respect both to the Roman Catholic Church and the general Protestant church situation, is an immense one. One could think of no greater and more fascinating task for a young and able theologian who still has his life's work before him than to establish firmly this work of Lutheran theology in Latin America.

Translating a Theology

In Latin America Lutheran theology is entering a new language area, which is, so to say, still to be mastered. Many have expressed their fear that Lutheran theology, as soon as it is translated into the Latin American languages, may lose its theological content. This is difficult to understand, for the theology of the Reformation is hardly bound to any *one* language. Whether it will be possible to translate this theology also into a language in which we have only very little experience is of course a very important question. Much effort has already been expended, and in the future much experience, linguistic acumen and also creative theological thinking will be required in order to carry out the task properly. It may be that Spanish and Portuguese are so stamped by Roman piety and theology that the language itself constitutes a hindrance to the truth of the gospel. But as indigenous theologians emerge, the transplanting of new theological content will become progressively easier. Such an encounter with a new language will perhaps even enrich Lutheran theology, and for this reason the service it renders will become even more important.

Lutheran theology in Latin America is also encountering a new culture; and this encounter is made difficult by the fact that Lutheranism itself derives from various national backgrounds. The various national and historico-cultural factors will always cause difficulty even within Lutheranism. The struggle to find the unity of the church, in spite of all the differences, in a common faith and confession must still be fought out

in Latin America. But unity of faith can come to expression among the various nationalities only by means of the language of the country. Therefore the encounter with Latin American culture will also be a major task for Lutheranism.

Influencing Intellectual Life

Here a question which will especially come to the fore is that regarding the degree of influence which the message of the Lutheran church will exercise on the universities and the academic circles of this continent. For in Latin America it is by no means the case that the Roman church and its theology hold sway over intellectual life. Certainly there are Roman Catholic universities where the students — even the Protestants! — are compelled to include in their syllabus a course on apologetics. But at the state universities an anticlerical and even atheistic tendency prevails throughout. There is no doubt that the Roman church is at present making great efforts to change this situation. But this does not by any means imply that a non-Catholic theology, such as Lutheran theology, would not also be in a position to exercise an influence on the intellectual life of this continent. Precisely from this point of view one can welcome with the greatest pleasure Lutheran initiative in placing student pastors in some university cities. Only it should be pointed out here that it is precisely in a university environment where the church is faced not only with the task of proclamation and pastoral care but also with an intellectual task. In conversations with student pastors and students I have noticed a keen interest in this aspect of the problem. It is precisely the intellectual integrity of the Christian faith and the fact that it has been thoroughly thought through which is of extreme importance for a student, especially if he is not studying theology. Systematic work in this area would surely mean also new beginnings among the Protestant churches of Latin America.

Men not Money

The task of Lutheran theology is a vast and important one. It is of course necessary not only to be able to see this task but also to help toward its realization. The necessary institutions for this are, happily, already available in the Lutheran church. What is especially necessary now is an expansion of

theological work. It is worth noting that here it is not financial means that are lacking, but men. Again and again I had to deplore the fact that those responsible for these tasks are already overburdened with their present work. What is needed here first of all then is new personnel, especially faculty members for the theological schools. But it is necessary to appoint to this work only the most able men and the best-trained theologians. Today the Lutheran church still has the opportunity to play a decisive role in Latin America in the area of theology. This is so in regard both to a primitive type of Roman Catholicism, still struggling for renewal, and to a Protestantism which is divided within and which easily becomes turned in upon itself.

VILMOS VAJTA

The Task of Lutheran Theology in South America

In the course of the last few years several authors have described in the pages of this journal* the situation of Lutheranism in South America and its problems.

At the same time North American and European visitors and lecturers, sponsored by the Committee on Latin America of the Lutheran World Federation, have published articles in leading church papers on the same subject. All of them unanimously pointed out the tremendous importance of the preparation of South American youth for the ministry. Today it is generally known that the churches belonging to the LWF have three seminaries in the Latin American countries: one in the Portuguese language area (Sao Leopoldo, Brazil), which is the oldest one, and two in the Spanish language area (one in José C. Paz, Province of Buenos Aires, Argentina, and the other in Mexico City).

It is a natural development that these institutions cannot be satisfied today with only the work of preparing men for the ministry; they must also shoulder the responsibility of pro-

moting theological work in the Latin American countries.

Before undertaking real theological work or carrying on the beginnings which have already been made (for instance, the first issue of the *Theological Yearbook* of the Argentine seminary) it is necessary to consider the present situation and the possibilities it offers.

Transplanting the Reformation

South America is still a new continent for the "old faith." There is Lutheranism in South America but it is not yet a Latin American Lutheranism. That means that our Lutheran church, along with other Protestant churches, is still in numerous places a foreign body on the continent. For the majority of the people we are still foreigners, strange persons. It is generally admitted that South America is a Roman Catholic continent and that the Roman Catholic form of Christianity is much more adaptable to people of Latin origin than the Christianity of the Reformation. Various church historians take this same viewpoint.

Dr. John A. Mackay in his famous work *The Other Spanish Christ* (1932), a book with which everyone who has an interest in our mission in Latin America should be acquainted, has well summarized this erroneous position. He says, "Protestantism, it is alleged, is utterly foreign to the Latin spirit, and for that reason can never become a natural expression of the religious life nor a creative element in the cultural development of a Latin people" (p. 259). The writer of these lines is convinced, along with Mackay, that it is a great mistake to take this position. To clarify our own position, we shall only pose a question here: If the Latin people do not have a feeling for the Reformation, why then was the Inquisition necessary precisely in Spain? We have to remember that in the sixteenth century "a large proportion of the best people in the country, people who were Latin by culture, were in favor of the Reformation, some in its Erasmian, others in its Lutheran form" (Mackay, p. 261). And we should also bear in mind of the South American inquisition that already in the year 1573 people were condemned "for being 'followers of Luther' ... or 'possessing forbidden books,' or 'celebrating mass without a priest'" (Mackay, p. 50).

It would be meaningless to work for the adaptation of Lutheran theology to this hemi-

* Hanns Lilje, "Lutheranism and the Historic Forces of South America" in Vol. I, No. 3, Autumn, 1954, p. 243 ff.; Earl S. Erb, "The Second Latin American Lutheran Conference in Petropolis," *ibid.*, p. 238 f.; Wilhelm Hahn, "South America and its Protestantism" in Vol. II, No. 4, Winter, 1955/1956, p. 422 ff.; Béla Leskő, "The Lutheran Theological Seminary, Buenos Aires," *ibid.*, p. 428 f.; Joannes Pfeiffer, "Visitation in Latin America," Vol. III, No. 1, June, 1956, p. 88 f.; Walter J. Schlupp, "More Pastors for Brazil," *ibid.*, p. 94 f.; Stewart W. Herman, "Report of the Committee on Latin America," Vol. IV, No. 3, December, 1957, p. 296.

sphere without recognizing the truth in Dr. Mackay's words, "It cannot be alleged, however, that there is anything in the essential nature of Protestantism which is not congenial to a Latin when once he has been truly awakened to religious concern, when he affirms his native love of liberty, and is not prepared to follow blindly the voices of authority and tradition" (p. 261). It is our conviction that the Lutheran church is especially well-suited to the Latin world because of her concept of the church, her liturgical tradition and her reverence in the conduct of the service. "There is a certain chaste aesthetic harmony which must be offered to the ear and to the eye in order that it may be made easy for Latin Americans to engage in meditation and worship, for these people have a very strong 'aesthetic sense'" (Mackay, p. 266). We have to recognize, however, that until today there were only a few Lutheran leaders who were aware of these factors.

The real truth is that today the majority of the 750,000 Lutherans in Latin America are foreigners. They are Germans, Scandinavians, Hungarians, Slovaks, Latvians, Estonians and others. In a word, foreigners. But we have some Lutherans of Latin origin also; however, this little group has not been able to change the "foreign" character of our church.

The question has to be raised: What became of the third and fourth generation descendants of the Lutheran immigrants? The answer is that one sector still follows its church, even if a great number of them have gone through a process of assimilation into their environment long before the present-day church became aware and recognized that she is responsible for these assimilated members too. (It is lamentable, however, that pastors in other continents are still prepared for service in Latin America without their preparation including Spanish or Portuguese.) The consequence would seem to be that today these people are Roman Catholics — but such is not the case. Their Lutheran tradition was too strong for that, and they form a significant percentage of the religiously indifferent among the Latin American people, or they are religiously homeless.

It would not be fair to accuse the church because of this situation without first asking the following question: Is it really possible precisely for the Lutheran church on a new continent, with its distinctive preaching and teaching, to adapt itself to a Latin spiritual

and religious culture and tradition? In other words, can the Reformation be transplanted to Latin America *today*?

This question is a very important one because the answer we give *can* and *must* decide not only the future planning and carrying out of our practical work in South America, but also the meaning and the task of theological work on this continent.

It is not easy for a human being to be transplanted from one country, or from one continent, to another. There are so many things that are different. Not only the language or the standard of living, but more, much more: the customs, the manner of living, concepts, thought processes, morality and ideals, the prominence of personal emotions and the general view of the meaning of life.

A man whom circumstances have uprooted always has a hard time trying to recover his equilibrium as an individual. Generally we believe this is difficult only for the simple man, and not so much for a person of high cultural and spiritual attainments, because his culture has something of a cosmopolitan or international outlook. But experience teaches us that such a conception is wrong also when applied to a spiritually mature person. Such a man can never be satisfied if he has to go around solely with his own ideas and reactions, without really having a response from others. He needs a dialogue — not a monologue; he needs to experience a response to his thinking. He is accustomed to the fact that his thoughts and concepts — the ethical as well as the individual and the social ones — are always related to the atmosphere in which he happens to live. The very fact of his cultured background becomes a very heavy burden if it does not find an echo in his new surroundings. In short, such a person suffers by being transplanted.

Our churches and pastors of present-day Latin America know very well this problem because of the spiritual situation of the refugees and immigrants of the past ten years.

Disregarding now the individual, let us think only about his concepts. Do they bear transplanting better than the person himself? Does not experience show us that ideas, thoughts and ideals lose their strength when they are transplanted to a foreign language or to an atmosphere strange to their origin? All the above-mentioned problems are related to our present problem of theological work.

There are many people who believe that it is dangerous to try to express the concepts of

Lutheran theology in the "Roman Catholic" Spanish or Portuguese language. They believe that the translation of Lutheran thinking into these languages is just as impossible as finding a Spanish translation of the philosophical expressions of the German terms and concepts of Heidegger. And it is indeed a fact that Lutheran concepts accepted in the United States or Europe — for there is the basis of their scientific understanding and there is a response to their message — can be seriously misunderstood and misinterpreted if we do not proceed carefully. And if we have to take this danger into account, is it then a crime or a necessity, a useless expenditure of effort or a beneficial undertaking, to promote such a process?

It is our firm conviction — and this is what gives meaning to the work which the seminaries and faculties in South America are doing today — that Lutheran theology, teaching and preaching *must* be transplanted to Latin America. It would be absurd for us to think that the heritage of the Reformation, its theology and chief concepts could be limited by any language or geographical location whatever.

The word of God is universal. Jesus Christ will reach every nation with the joyous message of the gospel. Consequently, the Reformation and its theology based on this universal word of Jesus Christ must also embrace the whole world. Granted that the preaching of the gospel always has the character of *hic et nunc*, theology and church life too must follow the same path. That means that Lutheran theological work, when it comes in contact with new surroundings, not only seeks to be a true translation of the original Lutheran concepts of the Reformation but also aspires to introduce an original factor. It wants to be part of the creative process of the Lord. Luther said, "To create is continually to make new." That means for the present-day Lutheran church in Latin America and its theology: Find the right way for a new creation, find the right linguistic expressions to express the concepts of an old faith for a new world, find the possibilities for beginning a dialogue with the Latin cultural, spiritual, and religious world.

When we speak here of the necessity and possibility of bringing Lutheranism to Latin America and adapting its conceptual world to that continent, we should like to avoid a possible misunderstanding. It is not a new kind of Reformation we should like to force upon

our church. Rather, we are working for the realization of the spirit of the theses of the Minneapolis Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation.

When the church is trying to find its place in a "new" world, when theology is struggling for expression in a new situation, in a new language or in a new cultural, political or social environment, the adaptation can have its dangers. The Minneapolis theses say, "The church is tempted to distort the proclamation of the crucified and risen Lord as her only Savior and King into political and economic ideologies, religious syncretism, self-sufficient moralism, or individual sentimentalities in order to make her message acceptable to man" (III, 3). Naturally it would be dangerous and sinful to proceed in this way. However, the theses also declare that "in every generation the church must be confronted and judged by this apostolic message" (III, 4) and that "this is her ongoing reformation" (III, 4).

Later, the theses say, "Reformation ... is not creation of a new church but recovery of the true church. Reformation is not a revolt against the authentic tradition but a protest against human traditions in the church which pervert the Gospel of Christ. Reformation is not itching eagerness for novelty, but penitent and obedient subjection to the renewing Spirit" (III, 5).

This consensus of the Lutheran thinking of today can show us the right direction for our work in Latin America. We must bring the Reformation to that continent and we must work for the realization of true ongoing reformation in the present work of our Lutheran bodies. That means that we also strongly "protest against human traditions in the church which pervert the Gospel of Christ."

Obstacles to the Task

In Latin American Lutheranism of today we can observe how human traditions can be an obstacle for the work of the church. It is not only the language barrier between the various Lutheran groups of different national origin which is raising the obstacles, but also the different concepts of the task of our church: Should it be a mission or should it be a conservation of the faith, tradition and language of the fathers who brought with them the characteristics of their European country of origin?

The task of overcoming human divisions in the world, outlined for all Lutheran churches

in the Minneapolis theses, has a special emphasis in our present work in Latin America. Thus, we have to fulfill our vocation not only with respect to the notoriously unstable political and social South American life and world, but also within our own circles, within our Lutheran church which is composed of so many different kinds of immigrants. All these groups have to feel *at home* in Latin America, in a community with the Latins and with the others. However, all this does not mean that our Lutheran churches in Latin America should force the language of the country on their members. Every person has his own language in which the gospel can best reach him, the tongue in which he first found God in his religious instruction and in his prayers. And the church has to recognize this need. A church working on a continent where immigration is still going on and where the assimilation of the immigrants does not proceed rapidly has to work in two languages in many congregations. Not to do so would mean that parents and children would not be able to understand each other in the most important and deepest concepts of our faith and that families would not be able to continue their devotional life at home.

But the recognition of the need for various languages in our work should not hinder our church from "entering into the life of each age, penetrating its thinking." All these problems which we have mentioned cannot be solved until Lutheranism has a strong foundation in the Latin American world. It is the task of Lutheran theology to prepare the necessary elements of such a foundation. Theological work has to help the churches, not only to prepare pastors for every language group, but also to find the right way to overcome the mistaken alternative of "mission" or "conservation," and to underline theologically the importance of *both* in the *same* work. The only real and effective way to confront this problem in this new world is to develop a Latin American Lutheran theology which will work toward this end. Lutheran theological work has the obligation to translate Lutheran thinking, teaching and preaching and to transfer it to the Latin American continent. However, if we cannot do more than translate and transfer, we fall into the error of looking backward and not forward. Therefore it is absolutely necessary to introduce an original factor. Our Lutheranism has to be able to present a theological interpretation produced *on* and *for* this continent, which

finds natural contact with its cultural, philosophical and literary thinking.

The organization of a foundation for confessional research by the Lutheran World Federation presents us with a special task in our theological work. The problem of Lutheranism versus Roman Catholicism assumes a different aspect on our continent. The foundation can offer a great deal of help for our work and it is also possible that our knowledge and orientation in the Roman theology of Spanish speaking countries can be of help to the foundation. The Lutheranism of our continent is eager to cooperate and to receive the necessary directions. However, all of these tasks can be fulfilled only if the seminaries on our continent can reckon with complete and adequately trained faculties. Therefore it is our conviction that the problem of securing an adequate staff of professors for each of these schools is not only a local but an all-Lutheran responsibility.

BÉLA LESKÓ

World Mission

West Africa Lutherans

During January and February of this year the directors of the LWF Department of World Mission visited West Africa. The immediate occasion for a joint visit at this time was the IMC Ghana Assembly, Dec. 28, 1957 - Jan. 8, 1958.¹ The following is a summary of our observations.²

I

Visit to the French Cameroun

From Accra we flew to Lagos, Nigeria, and thence via Douala to Ngaoundéré, a commercial and political center on the northern plateau. It is also the headquarters of the work of the Norwegian Missionary Society (NMS) and site of a joint Lutheran hospital. During the next ten days (Jan. 13-23, 1958)

¹ See Dr. Sovik's report, LUTHERAN WORLD, March 1958, pp. 410-413.

² Not included in this report is the work of the Synodical Conference (U.S.A.) in Calabar, South East Nigeria, by far the largest single Lutheran group in West Africa, with approximately 30,000 baptized members.

we crisscrossed the fields of the NMS and Sudan Mission (Evangelical Lutheran Church), visiting eight major centers of work and driving some 900 miles. After spending half a day and a night in Garoua on the Lutheran Brethren field, we drove across the border into Nigeria, where the field of the Danish section of the Sudan United Mission and the Lutheran Church of Christ in Sudan lies contiguous to Lutheran work across the border. The pleasant temperature (in the highlands), the black, burnt-over bush, the red dust and the families of baboons scrambling off the road ahead of us are lasting impressions. So are the vast distances and the scarcity of population — even that broken into numerous tribes and language groups.

We were unfortunately not able to spend any time in the south of the country, which is much more advanced in development than the north, and where the political climate is manufactured. There a month-old revolt by an outlawed political party, the Union Populaire de Cameroun, was reportedly under control, but guerrillas were still disrupting communications and threatening villages. While we were there, the premier, a Roman Catholic named M'Bida, requested additional French troupes. He has since been replaced by a Protestant of less sharply pro-French views. The UPC demands (1) complete amnesty for all political prisoners and exiles; (2) reunification of the British and French Cameroons; and (3) immediate and complete independence. The party head, Ruben Un Nyobe, is a Protestant, as are many other leaders. The French have claimed that the UPC is communist dominated, a charge that is difficult to substantiate.

Political Participation Needed

The political unrest of the south is not apparent in the north, where education is far behind and where the Muslim Fulani chiefs, for the moment at least, find their best interests lie in continued French power. Opinions on the situation differed widely among missionaries. One said French rule would be ended in a year, another gave them twenty; one said the African officials were mere tools of their French advisers, another declared that power is already in the hands of the Africans de facto. A certain political influence from the south was sensed. There is no doubt, however, that time will bring a political self-consciousness to the people of the north too. Against that day the church

and missions have a heavy responsibility. The Christians must be taught the meaning of Christianity in political life — and rather encouraged than discouraged from participation in community affairs. In certain respects the church is already making its contribution to preparation for the future. A new emphasis on French language schools gives hope for trained Christian leadership both in religious and public affairs, for early training in French is essential if students are to be prepared for secondary school work. At present it seems that emphasis must be on French rather than the traditional lingua franca, Fulani. The former language is naturally essential for government-recognized educational institutions; furthermore it opens the door to the world. Fulani, while widely used, is identified so closely with the Islamic conquerors that its wide use in the church would meet (and has in one case met) determined opposition from the tribes people who now are turning to Christianity.

The whole language problem is a vexing one. In Ngaoundéré services are regularly conducted in French and three African languages. Choice of any single tribal language as the "church language" immediately circumscribes the influence of the church. To translate and prepare literature in all tribal languages, however, is manifestly uneconomical and for that matter impossible. No satisfactory solution is at hand, and Bible translation is going on now in several languages, of which at least one, Mbulu, seems to be losing favor already.

The place education has been given in the missionary program so far has varied widely. We asked one group: "What would have happened if the mission had given priority to school work right from the beginning?" The answer was unanimous, "We would have had a larger number of Christians today. The schools are church creating. And where a school is attached to the church, the church is stable, whereas otherwise an early enthusiasm for the gospel has been seen to lose momentum and die."

In the light of these remarks it was encouraging to see the growth of a school system, which is, however, still only in its infancy.

A strong witness to the concern of the Protestant mission for the downtrodden is given by the courageous fight, especially by one missionary through the years, for the rights of slaves. The institution of slavery has not entirely died out. That the Ngaoun-

déré mission station is a refuge for those who escape has not been without its effect on the public.

The medical work is also a good witness and growing in importance. We were not clear, however, how well the mission program was coordinated with the government public health program. (And indeed, there seemed to be some tendency in both welfare and education to ignore government policy and program as far as possible rather than coordinate and try to obtain such assistance as the government can give in subsidies, etc. There are, of course, two sides to this question.)

In Tibati on the NMS field we had a profitable evening of conversation with a few Camerounese pastors and their wives. The realm of church discipline, said one, was a number one problem to the church. Specifically, drink, excessively high bride-prices, and polygamy were hard on the life of the church.

Islam is, of course, a problem to the church. Both in the Cameroun and Nigeria its growth is closely related to the political power of the chiefs, and their pressure and influence. Christianity, however, appeals to the subjugated tribes, and when even in pagan Africa it is no longer popular to be pagan, Christian missions have great opportunities. The church's educational program—where Islam generally has none—is of great importance for the future. But so is its direct mass evangelistic work, for it is clear that the time is pressing and the people who are not won for Christ today may very well be won for Islam tomorrow.

The problem of Lutheran unity in the Cameroun was much discussed. The NMS and the Sudan Mission are clearly moving closer and closer together, and with the opening next year of a joint theological training school there will be ground for real unity in the church which is to be organized to include the churches related to the two missions. Nothing seems more regrettable in the whole picture in the Sudan than that, as a result of home board policies, the Lutheran Brethren Mission has had to revise its trend toward closer relationship with the other two missions.

II

Trip to Nigeria

Now on the threshold of independence (target date, April 2, 1960), Nigeria is the largest and most densely populated (34,000,000

of the British colonial territories. Less than 20,000 are white. In other words, in Nigeria we have the largest aggregation of Negro peoples on the African continent, roughly 17 per cent of the total. Cocoa, palm products, timber, tin, are among the most important products. The per capita income is now \$70 a year, but as far back as 1953, Nigeria had a gross domestic production of nearly two billion dollars and in 1957 an external trade of eight hundred million dollars. Our visit was, of course, not for business reasons, but the possibilities in this field could not but impress us. Especially our visit with Prince Ashamu, managing director of United Chemists, Ltd., opened up to us new vistas of the great commercial and industrial potentialities of the country.

Nigeria is now divided into three regions, which are already self-governing. There are large Christian communities in the heavily populated southern half, which is divided to form the eastern and western regions, but the Christian community in the country as a whole approximates three per cent of the population, and in the northern region Islam is dominant and expanding.

Our itinerary did not permit a visit to the work of the Synodical Conference (U.S.A.) in the Calabar area in the southeast part of the country. We spent five days in Adamawa Province (northeast Nigeria) where the young Lutheran Church of Christ in the Sudan and its associated mission, the Danish Sudan United Mission (DSUM), are working, and three days in Lagos.

Ecumenical Relationships

The mission is a member of a federated organization called the Sudan United Mission (SUM), including Reformed and Baptist as well as the Lutheran unit. Each member has its own field, but certain common projects such as literature, certain educational matters, government relations, etc., are handled jointly. A joint theological seminary is scheduled to open in 1959, where there will be provision for common instruction in certain subjects and divided classes in such fields as systematics. This is the only instance in Lutheran missions around the world where such an arrangement is contemplated, and bears careful watching. (In Paris, and in some German universities, theological education has long been carried on in a united Protestant structure, with somewhat similar provisions.) The principal of the new seminary

in Nigeria is Dr. Harry R. Baer, an American and a member of the Christian Reformed Church. The DSUM will be represented by a United Evangelical Lutheran Church (UELCC) member, the Rev. Mark Thompson. And at this point it should perhaps be noted that while the mission originated in Denmark, it has, for many years, drawn some personnel and some financial support from the Foreign Mission Board of the Danish-background UELCC in America.

One asks why this Lutheran mission, contiguous to Lutheran fields across the border in the French Cameroun, finds its ties rather with non-Lutheran missions³. The answer is primarily historical—the SUM had its 50th anniversary in 1954. But it is also political and linguistic. Hansa is the lingua franca in northern Nigeria, and the English colonial system conditions much mission policy here as the French does across the border.

The Lutheran Church of Christ in the Sudan is a member of a federation of small churches related to the various members of the SUM. We understand that at the time of this federation's organization the Africans no less than missionaries *desired* to stay Lutherans and rejected a united church. This church now is Lutheran in confession and practice, and while its president, the Rev. A. Pilgaard-Pedersen, is a Dane, we saw wholesome evidence of a sturdy sense of responsibility and evangelistic vision among its Nigerian leaders and membership.

Religious Liberty on Trial

During our first afternoon in Yola (one of two major towns on the field—the other is Numan) we met several pastors and laymen who had just returned from a session of the local court where they had defended the church in a court case concerning the freedom to preach the gospel. An evangelist, Mr. Andersaas, had been accused by a local Fulani chief of defaming Mohammedanism, because in the course of his sermon he had declared that "no one cometh unto the Father except

by me." This was held to be an insult to Mohammedans, as it placed them in a class with pagans. He had been jailed, as had also the two local pastors at whose invitation the meeting had been held, the latter on charges of holding public meetings without the chief's permission. The Mohammedan chief's national administration court in Yola had fined the evangelist £20, but dismissed the charge against the two pastors. The church's leaders were well aware of the importance of the case for future policy in view of the impending withdrawal of the British regime, which will leave northern Nigeria under a regime dominated by Muslims. An appeal is now pending to a higher court. The competence of Nigerian Christian leadership was impressive. It may be attributed to a mission policy which lays considerable stress on education and also places considerable responsibility for handling church affairs on Nigerian Christians. A stated policy of the work is also to encourage Christians to take active part in the political and educational affairs of their communities and to accept government posts.

There is therefore a growing body of Christian laymen who are both able and in positions to give significant leadership in a changing society. Here is a church which has no intention of withdrawing from the world. At a session with another group of church leaders, in Numan, these men criticized in no uncertain terms certain missions that had discouraged, as a matter of policy, Christians from political activity.

At the same meeting the issue of religious liberty was again discussed. There was some concern about what may happen when independence comes to Nigeria, for it has been impossible so far to make adequate provisions in the draft constitution for liberty of conscience. A member of the Nigerian Federal House of Representatives (who is a leading Christian layman) stressed the need for detailed treatment of the problem in the constitution, lest the prejudiced position under which Christians now labor in some areas of control by Muslim chiefs become permanent.

As in other parts of West Africa, Islam is here challenging Christianity for the hearts of the hitherto pagan masses of the population. A third fact that increases the demand for an intensified missionary program is the penetration into Nigeria of a materialistic paganism associated with western education, industrialization and the superficial elements of European culture. One could not but ask

³ This question points up one of the basic issues confronting churches everywhere today; namely, shall we seek to establish fellowship and union with groups that are geographically close to us, or shall we seek closer cooperation and fellowship with a group that may tend to cut across national boundaries but will tie us up with people of common doctrinal heritage in other parts of the world? In other words, the case of national versus confessional ecumenicity.

again and again, who will win the hearts of these people — Christ, Mohammed or Mammon?

A number of critical problems face the church. First, the need to enlarge its program, to evangelize and teach more people. Geographically speaking there remain districts still entirely unreached. We visited a village where work was just opened two years ago, so isolated still that for six months of the year no vehicle can go in or out and the missionary is cut off from the outside. There a young evangelist, a school teacher, and a male nurse, representing the three-pronged impact of Christianity, worked under the leadership of a Danish woman in making a beginning of reaching 30,000 people.

At an older station only 20 to 25 percent of students wanting to enter primary school had been admitted, for lack of accommodation. The problem, however, is more complex than a mere shortage of funds. Until recently there has also been a shortage of teachers and there still is for higher schools.

Literacy Brings New Problems

The coming of literacy will, of course, bring entirely new problems to the church and to society. It was pointed out to us that the lay evangelist, who has, since the beginning of work in Nigeria, carried the major burden in village evangelism and the leadership of the village congregation on a voluntary basis while carrying on as a farmer, is now losing his prestige in the community. He is not trained well enough to keep the respect of his increasingly sophisticated people. There is critical need for new ways of doing the job. For some years the Bible training school has been combining progressive agricultural training with Bible school education. The aim is that graduates returning to serve in congregations should be able both to be examples of better farming to their people and should have resources of time and money available so that they can do their evangelistic and parish work. Good results are reported. But the plan of a semi-trained parish leader is still insecure and likely to be more so as congregations grow in size and knowledge.

The whole problem of youth activities was also discussed. It was held that the church was far behind the national administration in developing a leisure time program for youth, who are subjected to many temptations, both from the old pagan society and from modern amusements. Western movies, with their

generally negative effects, are still not general, but they soon will be. Here as in other African countries where a second Christian generation is growing up a vigorous program is essential for the future of the church.

A major problem of this church is finances. Under British colonial government mission schools are subsidized. But building costs, both for schools and churches, must be raised locally and through mission subsidies. The gap between the salary of a school teacher paid on government scale and that of a pastor, who though equally well qualified receives 25 or 30 per cent as much, does not lighten the program of recruitment for the ministry. (The African chairman of the recent Ibadan Conference is reported to have urged Christians in government-subsidized church schools and hospitals to follow his example by accepting a church established salary rate and allowing the balance available from the much higher government grant to be put in the church treasury to help raise the salaries of other Christian workers who are not working in government-subsidized programs.) In general in Africa, while there are examples of selfless giving to the church and well-planned economy, usually the major burden of financial sacrifice falls on the shoulders of church workers, or else their salaries are raised by unhealthily high mission subsidies. African churches need (1) planning and work to expand the economic status of their people; (2) more effective teaching of stewardship among lay Christians; and (3) further exploration of the possibilities of supporting the church through gifts in kind, "God's Acre" plans, and communal projects for the church as well as through cash gifts.

To Reach the Masses

In Nigeria we saw something of a growing Christian literature program and even more the tremendous opportunity in this field. On ordinary newsstands in Lagos and Accra the magazine *African Challenge* and, in French West Africa, *Envol*, appeared, both exceptionally well printed.

The people God used to launch both these popular picture magazines aimed at newly literate non-Christians were two professional writers from New Zealand, Trevor and Grace Shaw. In their little book *Through Ebony Eyes* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1956) a fascinating story is told. One of the main problems of Christian literature is that of distribution. This hurdle was overcome when

the *African Challenge* began publication in Lagos in 1951 by making use of the existing trade channels. The Christian magazine was sold by Mohammedan vendors. Both magazines continue to exist only by reason of heavy subsidy. It would appear to be a well-spent subsidy, but nevertheless points up the fact that Christian journalism has not solved the problem of appeal to the masses in Africa any more than in Europe or America.

The fact that these magazines are published in European languages may at first seem to indicate that they are a step behind times: the proclamation of the gospel is more effective in the vernacular. However, it must be remembered that the educational systems of most of Africa emphasize English or French, which are becoming the *linguae francae* of educated and semi-educated Africans.

III

Liberia

Liberia came next on our West African itinerary. From the moment we stepped off the plane at Robertsfield and were welcomed by the hearty handshake of President Ezra Keller of the Lutheran Church in Liberia, until a week later when the brothers McKay — pilot and business manager of the Lutheran Mission — saw us off from the same airport, we were filled with vivid impressions of a strange and fascinating land.

Liberia is in the midst of revolutionary economic and social change after a century of drifting. Under the vigorous and rather autocratic leadership of President W.V.S. Tubman, foreign capital is being invited to develop rich natural resources, and roads and schools are being built. The traditional division between the indigenous tribes and the descendants of American immigrants is closing. Within the coming years the ranks of the *civilized man* will grow and those of the *tribal man* will shrink as education and industrialization come to Liberia. The change has put its imprint on the church and its work. Laborers from the interior are going to work on rubber plantations (Firestone alone employs tens of thousands) and at the new Bomi Hills iron mining enterprise.

An Aggressive Program

Lutheran mission work in Liberia began in 1860, but to regard it as a century-old is

scarcely justified, since during the first half century there were never more than a half dozen missionaries on the field, and sometimes none. From the beginning its aim was to reach the tribal people, but not until the last generation have conditions permitted expansion into the heartland of the interior, where the Kpelle and Loma tribes live. Within the last dozen years the mission has embarked on an aggressive program in tribal language and literature work, the development of medical work, the development of an educational program which has involved the building of an expensive and modern high school and a Christian workers' training institute in the interior, a certain financial participation in a college (Cuttington College) operated by the Episcopalians and, of course, a growing primary school system. This new burst of energy includes an experiment in animal husbandry which is designed to improve the diet and income of the people of the interior, and there are a number of different attempts to increase the economic independence of the church. An indigenous church was organized in 1947 and is now headed by a Liberian president. The Christian attitude toward polygamy has been reconsidered and the policy adopted, on good theological grounds, of admitting polygamists to church membership when their plural marriages were contracted before they made contact with Christianity. Actually this has not had, according to reports, any great effect on accessions. The Lutheran church in Liberia, while faced with the usual problems of discipline in the field of sex, morals and other respects, is said to maintain standards of discipline that compare very favorably with other churches. Attention is being given to the development of indigenous forms of Christian music and worship. After many years of neglect the Scriptures are being put into the tribal languages.

A mission airplane immensely simplifies problems of transportation in a land of limited roads. Travel that only a few years or months ago took days now takes only minutes.

A Growing Church

Church membership has doubled in the last decade to 3,500 and gives promise of growing even more rapidly in coming years. "We are limited," said one missionary, "only by our own inability to evangelize and instruct the people in large numbers." With some exceptional instances lay Christians have not so far

fulfilled their potentialities in congregational leadership and evangelism.

Analyzing the growth of the church, one of the three active Liberian pastors gave the following reasons: (1) Since the organization of the church in 1947 the people have seen what the church really is; (2) more people have come to read the Bible; (3) there is a steadily increasing number of people graduating from primary and secondary schools.

As hindrances to growth the same pastor noted: (1) The difference between the preaching and life of Christians; (2) the difference in economic standards between the preachers and the ordinary man (the tribal man has a cash income of perhaps \$50 per year on the average); (3) pastors are too busy "with other things"; (4) youth programs are totally inadequate. To these might be added both the attractions of the modern world and the bonds of the tribal society and superstitions. Social pressure is strong, and there appears to be little idea of the wrath of a holy God against sin, although the concept of a supreme being is universal (as in all Africa). Islam is scarcely known among the Kpelle and Loma peoples, although in every village the Muslim Mandingo traders have their quarters and are so far untouched by evangelism. The evangelistic outreach of the church is extending yearly to hitherto unreached villages in the relatively sparsely populated green forests — and in this outreach the mission's careful and thorough literacy program is making a contribution.

Lutheranism in Liberia is making an aggressive attack on its two principal shortcomings: the need for better local stewardship of Christians' time and money and for leadership training. One has questions as to whether the present policy of giving all pastors a full college education while their people are still largely illiterate is not premature. And one could also wish that with all the imagination and individual initiative demonstrated by mission and indigenous staff there would be combined more evidence of homogeneity and unity of policy and spirit. Yet the Lutheran work in Liberia shows promise of rapid advance in its effort to bring eternal salvation and temporal well-being to what only yesterday were peoples of the primeval African forests.

IV

Concluding Remarks

The Lutheran fields which we visited, though all located in West Africa, are extreme-

ly different, both in cultural background and in the historical development of the work itself.

From the very moment one steps from the airplane in Liberia one cannot but be aware of the strong impact of American culture on this nation. To a lesser degree Nigeria bears the imprint of British colonial policy. And in much the same way Cameroun is French.

Instead of attempting an analysis of these interesting differences, we conclude this report by pointing out that the total Lutheran work in West Africa could benefit from a study of some of the remarkable achievements in each of the three fields visited, of which we name these examples:

- (1) the literacy and literature program in Liberia;
- (2) the stable and systematic church government in Nigeria; and
- (3) the real evidence of the pertinence of Roland Allen's theory of self-government and self-support in the life of the church in one district of the churches in the Cameroun particularly, poverty and illiteracy notwithstanding.

SIGURD ASKE and ARNE SOVIK

World Service

The Self-Help Program in Hong Kong

The commandment of love involves intelligent caring for the welfare and dignity of all men as neighbors, and service to them both in direct personal relationships and in efforts to improve the external conditions which affect their lives. As Christians we are called upon to do whatever we can to change those factors in the life of men which have the power to hurt or to corrupt. In Hong Kong such symptoms are shown in formidable poverty, in large numbers of employable unemployed persons, in the epidemic prevalence of diseases for which controls are known, in inadequate, subhuman housing conditions, in the quiet pain and suffering of many. What can be more harmful to the dignity of a healthy person than the loss of the opportunity to be himself, to use his own abilities and resources, to work out his own problems, or at least to have a hand in shaping his

destiny? These are the conditions which cause human frustrations of all kinds, out of which fear-hate cycles spring with all their cruel damage to man's heart and mind and to human society at large. If such an explosive development can be brought to an end by action of any kind, then the church must translate the injunctions of the gospel into such action. This is only a natural consequence of our firm belief that life at its best is total commitment to God who entrusted it to us. This is even more so in a time like ours when millions of people become victims of the advancing forces of dehumanization, of large scale forces which they cannot control.

There is no limit to the range of our care for others. It should extend to those whom we meet face to face, and to the vast multitude of Chinese refugees whom we may never see. It should extend to those who share our background and interests and to the Chinese refugees in Hong Kong whose background is entirely different. As Christians we can never write off another human being for whatsoever reason.

Grasping at Straws

In Hong Kong half a million people grasp at the semblance of a life and livelihood. About the hillsides in ramshackle huts, in terribly overcrowded cubicles, on rooftops and under staircases live people who were once government officials, farmers, university professors, merchants, military officers, teachers, artists, laborers and craftsmen. Most support themselves by precarious and part-time work. Some are driven to begging. They cannot afford economic security through self-discipline, private or social insurance or public or private welfare programs. Charity supplies only a tiny fraction of what is needed. These people cannot think of the future either, since the elementary matter of avoiding starvation today is of more vital concern. They own practically nothing but certain skills and whatever faith they manage to preserve. Many of them have some skill or craft and many have a willingness and readiness to learn and to work with their hands. The Chinese people possess a celebrated tradition of craftsmanship.

Estimates say that in Hong Kong there are about 150,000 people working in factories, about 250,000 in agriculture, fishing and mining, and some 200,000 are said to be engaged in commerce. But there is a popula-

tion of nearly 3,000,000. After making all allowances some 200,000 employable adults are left idle. Thus it was impossible to absorb the displaced people into the economy of Hong Kong as it stood.

Statistics showed that amongst the refugees only three to four per cent were originally engaged in crafts and trades. But now this proportion is much higher, somewhere in the region of 20 per cent. These figures indicated to the World Service staff here in Hong Kong that integration in small crafts and trades would also be a feasible way of firmly establishing refugees in Hong Kong.

The greatest gift which we felt we might be able to offer was to enlist the skill of the refugees, their patient, strong, creative hands, their capacities and resources, in order to effect their recovery, their rehabilitation, their restoration of self-respect.

In the Market

The Chinese refugees have a willingness to work, to learn and to reorientate themselves. What they require is a small amount of capital, tools, material and a market for their products. Home industry is the only possible opening for thousands, even when "home" consists of a cubicle in a tenement house, a bedspace or a squatter hut on a hillside.

Already in 1955 Lutheran World Service began to promote and to develop small trades and cottage industries, to encourage new crafts suited to the requirements of Hong Kong and foreign markets. Vocational training has been arranged, caseworkers investigate the needs and skills of the applicants, an advisory committee provides valuable guidance concerning the type of work to be undertaken.

The applications approved by LWF reveal the enormous variety of items required by those who participate in the self-help program. Capital is needed to start vegetable gardening or to raise pigs and chickens. There are grants to purchase sewing machines, bicycles and typewriters. Machines are needed for the making of noodles, the binding of books and knitting. Grants are given to establish food stalls, dry cleaning shops, tailoring shops, book stalls, second hand stores. Financial assistance is given for all kinds of hawking trades and for establishing various cottage industries.

A newly established Refugee Handicraft Department under the leadership of Deacon

Daniel Nelsson from Sweden investigates the needs of markets everywhere, thus giving work to an ever increasing number of refugees in embroidery, painting, basketware and the like. As this department develops, the list of products is lengthened, and more people are drawn into creative work and thus into a life with new hope and opportunities to support their families.

Is it difficult to say definitely how many refugee families could still be established in this type of economic activity, but we believe that their number would still easily come to several thousand. The amount of credit required for establishing refugees in small crafts and trades varies according to the type of business envisaged, but much can be done with an average amount of \$150 per family.

Traditional arts and skill rest in Chinese hands. They have something to offer. People all over the world would be interested in the products. But a medium of communication and marketing is urgently needed. Christian interest and custom will help thousands of people work their way towards a new life. Readers of the LUTHERAN WORLD are asked to get in touch with us and help us to help. Chinese hands are ready to work for you.

Alternatives to Choose

What were the Chinese refugees seeking when they fled to Hong Kong, if not security for themselves and for their families? This quest for security is today not merely a matter of national concern but indeed an international factor.

If we fail to recognize it, it will again lead to violence, unrest and aggression. If men are left with no choice but physical starvation in the midst of physical plenty they will fight for survival. The spirit of the Chinese refugees in Hong Kong is hard pressed by outward circumstances and many have been deprived of the hope of betterment. This situation calls upon us to meet the threat of fear,

unrest and aggression by a reaffirmation in practice of what we constantly preach and print.

For years to come tremendous needs will be unmet in Hong Kong, elementary human needs which we simply cannot afford to ignore. There is a Christian and non-Christian alternative toward human needs. If we dodge the Christian issue, we shall again fail, and fail glaringly.

The Future of Hong Kong

But is there a future, or is Hong Kong an interim project, insignificant because of size, uncertain and insecure because of location, undeserving of major effort or attention? We all agree that our Christian concept of the future is not the same as that of the world. Our strength and influence do not lie in atomic warfare or political changes but in the sincerity, integrity and authority of our faith. God is surprising, disturbing and often running counter to all our calculations, demanding sacrifices where we act like greengrocers counting our pennies, challenging the weakness of our faith.

Uncertainty and insecurity were overruled at the cross. The helpless victim was the master of the situation.

The small group of Christian social workers in Hong Kong works in close cooperation with government and others in trying to reach the whole of society. A weakness in this attempt is our constant lack of adequate resources. We all know the goal but we lack the physical means to reach it. The Christian scheme of welfare and relief is not a blueprint but a job to be done. Two million people are looking toward us for help and guidance.

God rations time. He rations the time in Hong Kong too. "You know what hour it is, how it is full time now for you to wake from sleep...." A great many things still have to be done *now*.

K. L. STUMPF

FROM LANDS AND CHURCHES

The United States

Roman Catholic Reactions to the Third Assembly of the LWF

The editor of the LUTHERAN WORLD invited me to survey American Roman Catholic literature, especially that of a more serious and theological nature, in order to see what, if anything, has been produced in response to the recent LWF Assembly. Although several general news weeklies did comment editorially at the time,¹ my research has as yet produced nothing of importance. Members of the hierarchy, such as Cardinal Spellman and Bishop Fulton J. Sheen, famous television speaker and national head of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, were asked about their reactions; but they, properly enough, "said that it would be better at this time to get the views of a Catholic theologian." (Harold Butcher, "Lutherans Explore Catholicism," *St. Joseph's Magazine*, Dec., 1957, pp. 11-13. This is a Benedictine publication.) It appears that only one such, Fr. M. J. Donnelly, S. J., professor of theology at St. Mary's College in Kansas, has expressed himself; and he addressed himself primarily to the question of whether the proposed Lutheran study of Roman Catholic theology "will give Lutherans new reasons for adhering to Lutheranism — not necessarily Luther's reasons but reasons pertinent to these days — or whether a large group will be reconciled with the Church." His answer was that the project is "possibly hopeful and significant. 'Possibly' has been emphasized since much will depend on the precise manner in which the said institute is conducted." (*Ibid.*, p. 13.

See also Fr. Donnelly's article in the Jesuit publication, *America*, Aug. 31, 1957.)

In short, there has been no serious theological consideration of the LWF Assembly in general, of the 51 theses, or of the proposed interconfessional study. However, this in itself seems to me interesting and worthy of explanation.

Why the Silence?

It may be hazarded that the reasons for this silence are to be found partly in the intellectual isolationism of the American Roman Catholic Church, partly in the limitations of its theology, and partly in the relative unimportance of American Lutheran theological work.

To take the last point first, Father Gustave Weigel, S. J., in the only *Survey of Protestant Theology in our Day* (Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1954; see also his *A Catholic Primer on the Ecumenical Movement*, Newman, 1957, and various of his articles in the best of American Roman Catholic theological periodicals, *Theological Studies*) so far published by an American Roman Catholic, mentions just one Lutheran influence, the Lundensian, and that rather briefly. He can't be criticized for this. Looking at non-Roman thought from an American perspective, and seeing little indigenous Lutheran theology of significance, he naturally tends to ignore Lutheran developments in general. Thus, however interested he and others may be, they lack material which would give them the background necessary to express an opinion on the LWF discussions, and so are apparently waiting to see what European reactions will be. We should not forget that for this lack of information American Lutheranism is partly to blame.

However, for once it would be a mistake to condemn ourselves too sharply for, even if our theological output were sizable and solid, still most American Roman Catholic theologians would remain uninterested. The great majority of them seem not only indifferent, but, as we shall see, perhaps even hostile to any serious and sympathetic study of non-Roman thought. It should be emphasized that their rather polemical indifference at least has the virtues of impartiality and catholicity: i. e., it extends to all types of theology, not only Lutheran, and then goes

¹ The following diocesan newspapers, all of large circulation, carried brief editorials on the proposed study of Roman Catholic theology: *The Catholic Transcript*, August 22, of Hartford, Conn.; *The Pilot*, August 24, of Boston, Mass.; *The Register*, September 1, of Peoria, Ill. All three were favorable to the study on the grounds that Protestants, especially American, need to take theological study more seriously than they have in the past, and that it might lead at least some Lutherans "back to the fold." *The Register* suggested that in addition it might "promote brotherhood" between Protestants and Roman Catholics by substituting an approach which differs "from the blindly bigoted... reckless criticisms of the recent meeting of the World Council of Churches." Only *The Pilot* commented that "Catholics too have something to learn from discussions of this kind."

on to oppose any philosophizing which departs substantially from post-Tridentine scholasticism. One finds in this country far less frequently than in England, France or Germany the sort of discriminating appreciation of other positions which is made possible by serious study. Further, inter-confessional discussions on theological issues are practically unheard of² (although, contrary to precedent, two Roman Catholics were present as unofficial observers at the Oberlin North American study conference of Faith and Order in September, 1957).

Before further discussing this indifference, it will be well to list the exceptions. We have mentioned philosophy, so here it is only fair to note that there are a few writers like the lay Prof. James Collins of St. Louis University, whose *The Mind of Kierkegaard* (Chicago: Regnery, 1953) and *History of Modern European Philosophy* (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1954) are diligent and intelligent efforts to understand opposing points of view. But among theologians there is, in addition to Fr. Weigel, only one writer who need be mentioned, and he is French in origin. I am referring to Fr. Georges Tavad, A. A., author of *The Catholic Approach to Protestantism* (New York: Harper's, 1955). However, despite this paucity of theological sponsorship, there are a number of Roman Catholic periodicals which show great interest in interconfessional problems. The English language edition of *Unitas* is put out by the Atonement Friars of Graymoor, N.Y., who are chiefly known through their promotion of the Chair of Unity Octave. *Thought*, a quarterly published by the Jesuits of Fordham University in New York City, sometimes carries studies of non-Roman theology. This concern is even more marked in two magazines controlled by laymen, the biweekly *Commonweal*, and preeminently, the quarterly *Cross-Currents*. However, the ecumenical interests of these publications live on foreign imports, for only rarely do American Roman Catholics contribute essays showing real awareness of developments beyond the limits of the Roman Church.

"These European Writers"

This situation results, not simply from ignorance and indifference, but also from a

self-conscious insistence on 19th century theological traditions and open resistance to the fresh approaches and interests which have developed in the last decades in France and Germany. Father J. C. Fenton, professor at the Catholic University of America and monthly contributor to *The American Ecclesiastical Review*, is the most articulate spokesman for this traditionalism. There is reason to believe that he is right when he suggests that, as a group, theologians in America share his dislike "for some of the theses and some of the writings of these European [Roman Catholic] writers" ("Appraisal in Sacred Theology," *Am. Eccl. Rev.*, CXXXIV, 1956, p. 26). Some of the writers about whom they have decided reservations are Congar, Journ  t, de Lubac and, above all, Tavad (see, e.g., "Some Recent Writings in the Field of Fundamental Dogmatic Theology," *ibid.*, pp. 255-272, 328-345; also the review of Tavad's book in *ibid.*, CXXXIII, 1955, p. 352 f.). Concretely this apparently means that most of the Americans are committed to what Fr. Tavad calls the "decadent scholasticism" of the theological manuals (quoted in "Appraisal in Sacred Theology," *op. cit.*, p. 29), to the view that theology consists primarily in the deductive, syllogistic arrangement of concepts and propositions (*ibid.*, p. 32 ff.; see also Fenton's insistence, contra Fr. Li  g  , on a completely "propositional" view of revelation in "Fundamental Dogmatic Theology," *op. cit.*, pp. 258-262), and to the practice—though perhaps not the theory—of regarding the doctrinal pronouncements of the Magisterium, not only as authoritative guides, but as the main source for theology. The basic mood is one which, without actually professing to do so, completely absorbs loyalty to Christ into loyalty to the empirical church, and which therefore deeply distrusts those Roman Catholics who try to distinguish these two loyalties even while holding that they are inseparable. Presumably these attitudes and suspicions are shared by most of the American hierarchy³ for otherwise it would be difficult to explain their dominance in diocesan seminaries and in most of the colleges and universities of the church.

² G. Weigel comments on the way "The American Catholic has kept aloof from non-Catholic religious life" in *The Catholic Church, U.S.A.* (L. J. Putz, C.S.C., editor; Chicago: Fides, 1956, p. 6).

³ Recent developments in various dioceses suggest that there may be a general, though unplanned, tendency on the part of an increasing number of bishops "to raise the dikes" protecting Roman Catholics from liberalizing developments. See the comments of the noted American sociologist David Riesman in *Confluence* (Harvard University, IV, 1955, pp. 137-139).

This outlook is of course combined with opposition to what Fr. Fenton disdainfully calls the "soft" approach to non-Roman Catholics (*ibid.*, p. 265). Any suggestion that vestiges of the true church are to be found outside of the Roman communion is to be repudiated because "a counterfeit as such is dangerous precisely in proportion to its degree of excellence as an imitation" (*ibid.*, p. 264). The logical outcome of such a view is that the only proper approach to non-Roman Catholics is that of polemical apologetics, and this indeed is implied by Fr. E. F. Hanahoe's *Catholic Ecumenism* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1953). Visser 't Hooft says of the thesis of this book that it "puts an end... to any conversation between Roman Catholics and non-Roman Catholics" (*Ecumenical Review*, VIII, 1956, p. 193). Yet it probably expresses the typical, though not universal, American position.

Other Factors

There are many reasons for this rigidity and exclusivism. It can in part be attributed to what Fr. Tavard—to the irritation of Fr. Fenton (*Am. Eccl. Rev.*, CXXXIII, 1955, p. 352 f.)—calls "a certain dearth of historical and theological culture" in American Roman Catholicism (Tavard, *op. cit.*, p. 61). As an example we might cite Fr. Weigel's disapproving comment that "for many a Catholic student of theology, *pecca fortiter sed fortius fide* is the formula which genuinely, adequately, and loyally expresses the complete thought of Luther" (*Primer*, p. 70). Even theological journals sometimes fall to this level (e. g., J. W. Moran, S. J., "What Luther did not Read," *Am. Eccl. Rev.*, CXXXIII, 1955, pp. 30-35). This sort of obscurantism, in turn, is traceable both to defects which Roman Catholic education shares with American education in general, and also to special handicaps resulting from the relatively recent lower-class, immigrant origin of the vast bulk of the membership of the church.

Social and economic inferiority are rapidly disappearing, but Roman Catholics are still far from contributing their quota to the intellectual leadership of the country (J. C. Ellis, "American Catholics and the Intellectual Life," *Thought*, XXX, 1955, pp. 351-388, reprinted in *The Catholic Church, U.S.A.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 315-357). An unusually large number enter law and medicine (*ibid.*,

pp. 351-352), many achieve success in business and politics (*ibid.*, p. 330), but in actual numbers—not only proportionately—far fewer Roman Catholics attain prominence in science than do, e. g., the Episcopalians and the Congregationalists (*ibid.*, pp. 346-348) whom they outnumber in the general populace eight to one. "The picture in the sacred sciences, the liberal arts and the humanities is no brighter" (*ibid.*, p. 349). In short, it is those distinctively intellectual areas in which theological tension is most likely to arise which are especially avoided.

In order to understand this we must refer not only to the recent immigrant origin of American Roman Catholicism, but also to "the minority, defensive position in which the Church found itself in an [American] culture which really, although never quite officially, was anti-Catholic" (Walter J. Ong, S. J., *Frontiers in American Catholicism*, New York: Macmillan, 1957, p. 3). Further, if we are to believe certain authors, the Irish dominance of the American church has had a harmful effect. Long centuries of fighting the Protestant English have given the Irish an exceptionally bellicose and defensive attitude towards everything non-Roman (cf. Thomas Sugrue, *A Catholic Speaks His Mind*, New York: Harper, 1951).

One additional point, rarely mentioned, is of special importance because it indicates that these attitudes are not likely to disappear rapidly. Even though Roman Catholic lay folk are becoming more thoroughly integrated into American society, the Roman Catholic leadership feels increasingly alienated from American Protestantism. Fr. Weigel expresses this very movingly when he deplors the growing Protestant accommodation to secular culture as illustrated by increasing vagueness of Christian belief and susceptibility to such movements as the "Peace of Mind" cult of Norman Vincent Peale ("Protestantism as a Catholic Concern," *Theological Studies*, XVI, 1955, pp. 214-232). For parish priests the alienation is even sharper for, in the last decades, such issues as birth control, gambling and public transportation for parochial school children have brought them into open political conflict with Protestant clergy (cf. Kenneth Underwood, *Protestant and Catholic*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1957, pp. 168-188).

In conclusion, then, American Roman Catholics have not commented extensively on the LWF Assembly because, first of all, the small group which is genuinely concerned

with understanding non-Roman theological thought has not been alerted to Lutheran developments, while the great majority failed to detect anything that looked like a "return to Rome," and so saw little to discuss.

GEORGE A. LINDBECK

Germany

Roman Catholic Institute for Confessional and Diaspora Research

On January 19, 1957, Archbishop Dr. Lorenz Jaeger dedicated the Catholic institute for confessional and diaspora research in Paderborn, Germany. The institute was named after the great theologian and expert in comparative symbolics, Johann Adam Möhler.

Years of planning lay behind the founding of the institute. The emergence of dialectical theology had demonstrated the need for giving a systematic and institutional foundation to the conversations being carried on with Protestant theology and the new possibilities resulting from the emergence of that theology. The aims of the institute are exclusively scientific and theological. Events within the Protestant framework are included in the institute's sphere of work only insofar as they are relevant theologically. It is well to emphasize this limiting of ourselves to the purely theological. This gives the institute and its members the freedom and impartiality which enables them to discuss theological matters with all Protestant theologians and specifically subjects of controversy between Roman Catholic and Protestant theologians.

The task of the institute and its aim have become clear during the eighteen months in which it has been in existence. The members of the institute seek to comprehend Protestant theology in all its breadth. For this task the developing of a valid methodology is of importance. There is still considerable lack of clarity on this point in Catholic confessional research and in the treatment of questions at issue between Catholic and Protestant theologians in that branch of theology devoted to that study [*Kontroversialtheologie*]. Here we must advance beyond the method used by

Möhler. It would be easy to work out a Protestant systematics on the basis of the confessional writings. But this would be to bypass the actual mode of thinking in present-day Protestant theology. Protestant theology is, after all, committed to continually calling every confession into question — which it also does. When important areas of a theology operate actualistically,* this limits the meaning of confessions. Therefore we are endeavoring to comprehend Protestant theology as it understands itself, that is to say — as a temporary measure and even wrongly — without any "preconception." Anyone who concerns himself with Lutheran theology is acquainted with the problems connected with such an attempt.

It is only such an unrelenting struggle to arrive at a clarification of theology which makes it possible to recognize what really divides us, down deep, but likewise where we are, quite unexpectedly, close to one another. Often we are divided not so much by the individual dogmatic statement, the dogma — although dogmas certainly do divide us, as no one would deny. We are often divided by a whole theological approach. This becomes evident when in, say, the *Dictata super Psalterium*, written by Luther as a young man, one finds the whole Reformation theology of the word adumbrated. It cannot be said that here definite deviations of a schismatic nature can be noted. Yet the sails are set, the compass fixed, and the course leads "inevitably" into the specific theology of the Reformation.

Our second main task is the Catholic reply. This reply is given either by refuting and opposing the Protestant position and by winning over those who hold it, or better still by giving a positive presentation of our Catholic doctrine. It will be recognized more and more clearly that we have to work not so much on those problems which occupy the foreground, such as the papacy, the ministry or mariology, which we feel so grievously today as divisive antitheses, as on the so-called principles of the Reformation. All work on those problems which are particularly conspicuous is in vain if it does not result in an agreement in principle, in fundamentals, if healing does not take place at the roots. For this reason it will be necessary to reduce our various efforts to work upon these principles.

This report must be deliberately reticent, since, as experience shows, while the tasks of

* That is, emphasizing the acts at the expense of the continuity of the church. [Translator]

the institute are clear to us, our method of working must be subjected to constant development and refinement. This is a concern which still belongs completely to the future. In *Kontroverstheologie* it is all too easy to merely flail at the air. And yet the time presses us, as never before, to converse with one another seriously, effectively and to salutary purpose. There is no mistaking the fact that our theologies are moving closer to one another. This movement cannot be left to chance but must be guided according to some plan.

An important aim of the work of all responsible Christians is the unity of the church as the Lord has commanded it. The most diverse forces have to work for the realization of this will and testament of Christ. Confessional research and *Kontroverstheologie* carry only a part of the burden, even if a very important part: one, that of clearing away all lack of understanding, lack of clarity, narrowness of vision and frequently also rigid adherence to confessionally stamped conceptions; and, two, the presentation of the plenitude of Catholic truth, which in the complexity of its theological construction is often much broader than the Evangelical Christian suspects. Thus, for example, it has been possible, not the least through the assistance of the institute, to publish a book like that by Hans Küng.* From the theological point of view nothing is so beneficial to the Christian cause today, which is, after all, the truth of Christ, as holy conflict, a contest carried on in earnest, in faithfulness to Christ's church, with a keen mind and a loving heart, by which we shall ultimately be weighed.

ALBERT BRANDENBURG

France

A Minority Church and its Mission

The work of the Inner Mission of the Lutheran church of Paris was begun in 1840, by no other than Friedrich von Bodelschwingh and Louis Meyer.

At that time Bodelschwingh was ministering to the poorest inhabitants of the French capital, the German street cleaners, who usually came from Hesse or Hannover and were Protestant Christians. No one concerned themselves about these people; they found shelter where and in whatever way they could; their children hardly ever attended school and the moral and spiritual disintegration was frightful. The French Lutheran church felt itself called to seek out these people and gather them together. Pastor Louis Meyer, later superintendent in Paris (*Inspecteur ecclésiastique*) and one of the most ardent souls of that century, called Friedrich von Bodelschwingh to be interne in his congregation, where he founded, with Bodelschwingh, "The French and German Mission." While Bodelschwingh was establishing the famous *Hügelkirche* in the Villette quarter for his fellow countrymen, Louis Meyer was active as an evangelist among the French workers. The work advanced rapidly. By 1846 the mission had three places of worship in Paris and four in the suburbs; in 1855 it even extended its influence to Lyons and Le Havre. At the same time it opened Protestant schools in the various quarters of Paris, thus calling new congregations into being. The Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71, unfortunately, brought this rapid development to a sudden end.

The war was hardly over when "The French and German Mission" — rechristened the "Inner Mission" — went to work with new vigor. New congregations were established, especially in the vicinity of Paris. Neither the separation of church and state in 1906 nor the first world war altered this situation. It was the second world war and the accompanying disturbances that first made the Lutheran church in France aware that there was something in the work of the Inner Mission that was no longer in order. The work had prospered so that it was slowly suffocating under the burden of its ten large congregations! Upon the motion of the new superintendent, Etienne Meyer, a grandson of Louis Meyer, the Paris Synod decided immediately after the end of the war that most of these congregations should be attached to the executive board of the church in order to allow the Inner Mission to resume its proper ministry.

The necessary funds are lacking, however, and the shortage of pastors is another hindrance. The Inner Mission first had to

* *Rechtfertigung*, Einsiedeln, 1957. Cf. the review on p. 94 of this issue. [Editor]

content itself therefore with building a church for its congregation in Suresnes, with the help of the Lutheran World Federation, and with leading this congregation to be self-supporting, which was accomplished in 1954 and 1955. Only then could the organization of our work, as approved by the synod, be definitely carried out. In October, 1956, Pastor Albert Greiner was called from the parish ministry and named to the post of executive secretary of the Inner Mission.

But what is the Inner Mission of the Lutheran church in Paris? In contrast with what is usually understood by this term in other countries, the work of our *Mission Intérieure* is the reviving and renewing of churches as well as evangelization, in the service of all congregations within our church district, which embraces all of France outside of Alsace-Lorraine and the church district of Montbéliard (the former countship Mömpelgard) in the east.

In this territory, where outside of the Paris area there are Lutheran congregations only in Lyons and Nice, our first task is ministering to Lutheran refugees from the second world war.

Mission to Refugees

Although this is a task which comes very near to that which led to the establishing of our work over a hundred years ago, and which was then repeated after the Franco-Prussian War when the *Mission Intérieure* cared for the Alsatian refugees, for us it is completely new. Up until April of 1956 this work was in the hands of the *Comité Luthérien d'Aide aux Immigrants et aux Réfugiés* (CLAIR), established by the LWF in 1945 and still in existence, now as the owner of various settlements where farm families from other countries have found a home and land. Two years ago the church charged us with ministering to these settlers, with the aim of drawing them increasingly into the indigenous church.

It highly needs to be said that this is extremely laborious diaspora work. Apart from the CLAIR settlement in the Landes, or the typical industrial areas such as northern France, the families that are known to us rarely live in the same vicinity, so that we must continually try to offer assistance to these people in their isolation by writing letters of pastoral care, instructing them by means of written materials and sending

them our monthly paper *Fraternité Evangélique* which since 1957 has been appearing with articles in both French and German. At present we have a German pastor in the north who gathers his groups together for worship alternately in Douai, Valenciennes and Liévin and conducts, every year, a short summer camp in France or Germany. Our second pastor serves western and middle France, holding regular services of worship, at great effort to himself and for groups that are often tiny, in Rouen, Vernon (Eure), Troyes, Chalon-sur-Saône, Mâcon, Lyon, Saint-Etienne, Montluçon, Le Creusot, Magny and Montceau-les-Mines. The faithfulness of these groups is moving; usually every one of the families of which we have any knowledge takes part in every service, at least through one of its members, although for many of them that means a long and expensive trip by train or bus. In the vicinity of Paris the group at Fontainebleau has flourished to the extent that it can now be regarded as a station of Trinity Church in Paris, although this church is 36 miles from Fontainebleau. Similarly the group at Vence (in the Maritime Alps) has simply merged with the Lutheran congregation in Nice. Yet here too it will be necessary to hold services of worship in German for several years because most of the immigrants do not understand "religious French" adequately enough to take part in a French service of worship. But religious instruction has to be held in both languages already, in all the places concerned, since the children speak French much better than the language spoken in their own families.

After the war, when the LWF established CLAIR, hopes were high that thanks to it new Lutheran congregations could be established in France. Unfortunately, in the time that has now elapsed since then many of the families that had immigrated at that time have now returned to Germany or have traveled on, overseas, so that today we must reconcile ourselves to the fact that, through their children, most of the Lutherans whom we serve are one day or another going to be assimilated into the Reformed church which has at least a diaspora congregation in all parts of our land. Only in the settlement in the Landes in southwestern France could the hope which was cherished previously be fulfilled, since there a considerable number of German families live close together. At the present time we are looking for a bilingual pastor to serve these small congregations in

which Pastor Gueutal conducts monthly services of worship.

Besides the German worship services, there are ones held in Polish and Estonian by pastors from England, and a Lithuanian pastor active in our church in Paris ministers on behalf of the Mission Intérieure to his countrymen in eastern and southern France and in the Paris area. In addition, the Hungarian Lutheran pastor to refugees, L. Lehel, works closely with us.

This already colossal job represents only a small part of the task which our church has entrusted to the Inner Mission. Within the French Lutheran church itself our first goal is the awakening and renewal of churches.

Mission to Those Within

When we discuss this branch of our work, we must of course first take into consideration that our Lutheran church in central France is a typical minority church. Half of the people in France are anticlerical if not atheistic. The other half is predominantly Roman Catholic. If the man on the street has heard anything at all about Protestantism, then he thinks of the Reformed church. He can't be blamed for this; in Paris, for example, there is only one Lutheran for every 2,000 inhabitants. So we are, as Bishop Meyer is accustomed to say, "a [Lutheran] minority in the [Protestant] minority of the [Christian] minority of our land." Our 20 congregations in Paris are small in comparison to what is called a congregation in a folk church; each of them comprises at the most about 1,000 souls. Yet the pastors are overburdened, as are pastors everywhere. It is very difficult to gather the congregation members. Two of our congregations in the suburbs serve, each of them, more than twenty communities and, since the members often live far from the church, many of these are lost by us. Our burial rolls show that two out of three funerals are of people whom, as long as they were living, the pastor had never set eyes upon; they had been simply pulled under by the undertow of life in a big city. Now this is a problem with which all big-city pastors are acquainted. It is complicated for us however by our minority situation. Mixed marriages often end in indifference. In Saint-Denis, where I was formerly pastor, only half of the children were baptized, no matter whether Protestant or Roman Catholic. Because of the separation of church and

state it is also impossible for us to trace Protestants officially. Neither at the police nor in the census nor upon being admitted to a hospital nor upon entering military service is a person asked about his religion. There is no religious education in school. And naturally our church receives no financial subsidy from the state!

This whole problem complex illustrates what help our Inner Mission is able to offer to the existing congregations.

In the first place, a few months ago we put out a well-illustrated brochure on the history, structure and faith of our Lutheran church, in an edition of 20,000 copies. These are intended for congregational members themselves as well as those on the outside who in one way or another come in contact with us and would like to know something about the gospel we proclaim at a baptism, a wedding or a funeral. The cost of this brochure was borne entirely by the Inner Mission.¹

In addition, at the request of various congregations we have published tracts that call attention to the existence of these congregations and which are distributed by teams of laymen, particularly in new areas and new apartment buildings, in order to direct people who are moving into them to the church. Here and there we have also instructed these lay teams in regular courses, after the example of German and American visitation programs. In a suburban congregation like the one in Suresnes these lay visitations have already performed a great service; families that were never seen before came to church and children were sent to Sunday School who otherwise would probably never have heard anything of Christ.

Since this effort on the part of the laity is indispensable for our small church, several pastors have asked us to assist them in activating their congregations. This was done partly through "Congregation Conferences" (*Congrès paroissial*) which we planned and carried out together with the pastor and church council. A few weeks in advance of the conference every member of the congregation receives a personal letter and a questionnaire about congregational life, mission, evangelization, financial matters and other things. Everyone is asked to write a personal reply. Then comes the conference itself. On an evening

¹ This brochure can be of use to visitors to Paris; it can be obtained, without cost, from the office of the Mission Intérieure, 13 rue de Poissy, Paris 5^e.

or a winter Sunday afternoon the congregation assembles. The pastor and the members of the church council give a report, without mentioning any names, on the answers received, and a fruitful discussion results. Many a thing which one would not have believed himself capable of saying in public comes to light in this way. Criticism and desires are expressed, and many a person who would never have come on his own to the idea of serving his church offers his services, especially if a list of things to be done was included with the questionnaire in the invitation.

This conference is often connected with a commentary on the liturgy in the Sunday service of worship. The pastor of the congregation conducts the usual liturgy at the altar. On this Sunday there is no sermon, but between every liturgical act several explanatory remarks are made from the pulpit which help the congregation to penetrate more deeply into the understanding and living of the worship service.

In other places we have conducted, also this year, "Parish Evangelism Weeks" (*Mission paroissiale*), which spread out over three weeks. Last year a group of young people put on Olav Hartman's religious play *Prophet and Zimmerman* on behalf of our Mission Intérieure; it was particularly well-suited to inaugurate such an evangelism week. In a workers' congregation we found to our great amazement that this biblical language, which is basically quite foreign to Frenchmen, when presented in this form caused even people unaccustomed to hearing it to reflect. At the present time the evangelism week in Le Perreux is just coming to an end. On the first night we attempted, with the help of a group of Negro spiritual singers, to focus attention upon baptism as the foundation of our faith and our incorporation into the church. The second week saw a talk, in the parish hall, on baptism as the basis for our Christian activity in the congregation; the discussion that followed opened new ways for improving congregational life. In the third week laymen took the floor, speaking of their witness in a dechristianized world. The congregation members were invited to the week through a modern tract sent to all of them, and the congregation's newspaper appeared in special weekly editions that brought the most essential matters from the lectures plus a new invitation.

All this work is primarily *inner* mission, i.e., within the church itself. In carrying it

out we must not forget the masses of our fellow citizens who have often heard so little of Christ that one day I was able to observe two young people in my church who carried on the following conversation:

The first (indicating the crucifix on the altar): "Who is that supposed to be?"

The second: "Don't ask me."

Both of them would have been able to give you the particulars about Sputnik — but about Christ they knew nothing!

Here begins our evangelism work.

Mission to Those Without

I must confess that in this area we have done but little and that we are not even sure how we should approach people. Half a century ago France was still in the throes of a heated debate with Christianity. Our forefathers could be quite certain that when they announced a public lecture they would have a full house and that if the discussion were not always "fair" someone would let it be known. To be sure, when Billy Graham came to Paris two years ago he spoke to full houses too; but that was owing to special circumstances, and most of those in attendance were, despite everything, members of one Christian community or another. In general, today lectures no longer "draw"; talk leaves people unmoved. When making our visitation calls, we always received a cordial welcome; but people simply evaded any discussion with a "that no longer interests us." Then what *does* still interest the Parisian today?

In this situation a very plain and unpretentious path seems to be indicated. We must bring the church closer to those outside. We must consolidate the outposts that now exist and establish new ones.

In the last ten years two outposts were committed to the care of the Inner Mission. In *Saint-Ouen*, before the gates of Paris, our small congregation lives in a typical workers' district. Three sisters of the evangelical order at Grandchamp are working with us. One of them is employed in a factory and earns the living for this little community of three; the other two make visitation calls and offer their humble living quarters (which they call *La Fraternité*) as a home to all who are in distress and would like to pour out their heart to someone. Their fervent prayer-life and the personal contacts they make have already led several families to us. At present we are trying to push ahead here, partly along new paths.

In *Vanves*, a suburb to the south of Paris, there has been a wooden chapel for thirty years in which the pastor of a neighboring congregation conducted regular services of worship. The Inner Mission gave this mission station its own pastor and in December, 1957, declared it an independent congregation. In May, 1957, this pastor was in contact with 76 Protestant families; in July it was 80 and in February of this year it was 90. In one year 37 new people were added to the congregation in this way and contributions have increased by about 100,000 francs. The wooden building, which provides space only for worship and a sacristy, is already becoming too small. The last time I conducted worship there, a woman said to me, "I can already picture my new church!"

The third outpost, *Combault* (Seine-et-Marne) was established before the war already in a housing development 15 miles from Paris. Since 1957 it has been entrusted with ministering to a whole canton which the Reformed church relinquished in our favor. Here we have, unfortunately, no pastor of our own as yet and all the work falls to the young pastor from Le Perreux. Every Thursday he covers over 60 miles gathering the scattered children together for instruction in St. Matthew Chapel in Combault. Fortunately one of the members of his church council has presented him with an almost new car. The youth of this congregation also show a lively interest in the work. Within the course of the next months another member of the congregation is going to build a house on the property on which the chapel already stands so that at least there will always be someone there to receive any visitors, in the name of the church.

These three outposts, which we want to lead gradually to adulthood, are still hardly enough. Often this or that pastor comes to my office in order to tell me, "I need the help of the Inner Mission urgently! We are no longer able by ourselves to handle the territory assigned to us!" This week the pastor from Saint-Denis came to me and complained that he already had 100 children in his Sunday School in the church but that he was losing 50 more since they lived too far away in the mushrooming housing areas and apartment buildings. Many more of our pastors could sing the same song. In the last five years more than one little nest in the vicinity of Paris has grown into a large town and this (absolutely necessary) building

boom is not yet at an end. At the last summer-synod Bishop Meyer gave an unnerving report on this development. By 1960 Antony is to grow in population from 25,000 to 42,000, Bagneux from 14,000 to 38,000, Châtenay-Malabry from 14,000 to 28,000 — and all these places lie in the territory of our congregation in Bourg-la-Reine. In the territory of our congregation in Saint-Denis, Epinay will increase from 17,000 to 24,000 inhabitants and in Garges-lès-Gonesse a new, modern town of 20,000 people is coming into being. Other examples could be cited.

In view of this situation our Lutheran church in France can go only two ways. Either we leave the task of looking after these developing areas to the Reformed church, which is stronger than we (which would be demanding too much of it too however), and we content ourselves with continuing the existing congregations along strict confessional lines, which would mean that in a few years Parisian Lutheranism would be a very pretty but quite antiquated museum piece; or the church faces the new tasks, through its Inner Mission, and takes up the fight.

The majority of the synod chose this difficult way. In Bezons, a rapidly developing suburb in the vicinity of Courbevoie, the Inner Mission has already employed a parish worker who started and has been conducting a small Sunday School since October, 1957. A woman who was converted from Roman Catholicism has bought a piece of land there where our church will find lodging next year, which will enable the parish worker to go at the work systematically. For us there are great problems involved, but for the children of this little Sunday School it is all settled: "We are going to get our own church."

In Garges-lès-Gonesse our Inner Mission is, in the coming years, to build the church which the new town requires. At present we have already assigned a volunteer parish worker to the congregation in Saint-Denis, who is making house visitations in this territory which is miles across; the congregation members themselves, like those of Trinity Church in Paris and our church in Bourg-la-Reine, distribute a tract in the new apartment buildings calling the attention of Protestants to the appropriate congregation.

In Noisy-le-Grand, in the territory of the congregation in Le Perreux, we are in urgent need of a colporteur to look up the Protestants who are attracted to our church; his salary

is provided for in our budget. These three new outposts of our Inner Mission can and must be multiplied if we want to be equal to the tasks set before us.²

A Word of Appreciation

In conclusion, the reader is asked to consider what this work signifies for a church which already has everything it can do to take care of its current tasks. In reading this article our friends from other countries will have taken note of all that we have learned from their experiences in the area of stewardship and evangelism. We are deeply grateful to them for these and we also thank all our brothers in world Lutheranism for the material aid which they have afforded us in past years. Our church in Paris is too small to solve by itself the problems placed before it. We work in a land, unfortunately, in which the progress of the gospel will never be so overwhelming as, let us say, in Austria. We are dependent upon the assistance of the LWF and we are certain that your prayers and gifts will not fail us.

ALBERT GREINER

Latin America

Report on the Present Situation

I.

Some time ago a letter from Siberia crossed my desk, one of the many which arrived from there at one time. It was addressed not to us but to a woman who had succeeded in returning from Siberia home to Germany. Her companions who had remained behind testified, "You left a living testimony of your presence...."

Many Europeans find themselves in foreign countries, among them many Protestant Christians. In South America I came upon many Italians, Poles, Swiss and naturally very

many Germans. Many descendants of early immigrants, now in the third, fourth and even fifth generation, are among them. Isn't it to be expected that here there should be clear signs of their presence? As far as those of German origin are concerned, these signs are for the most part found in churches and church groups in a wider framework, those connected by agreements with the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKiD). These are largely relatively old congregations and synods. This is apparent from the anniversary celebrations in which I took part while I was there: Temuco and Panambi were both celebrating their 50th anniversaries and Esperanza and Montevideo their 100th.

II.

Not long ago the first press reports from the Ghana conference brought the information that South America had been selected and was being proclaimed as mission field number one. For the moment we do not wish to question the appropriateness of such a proclamation, nor whether there has been a conclusive departure from Edinburgh in 1910 where there was general agreement that Roman Catholic countries must never be regarded as mission territory for Protestants. We want instead to ask another question, whether there is any connection between the letter from Siberia and the proclamation from Ghana. Is there a serious failure, of major proportions, connecting the two? A great deal of erroneous thought and action? Is there indeed no "living testimony" of the presence of Christians in Latin America?

As a matter of fact there is serious criticism which we have to face. Here again we shall disregard the fact that in the report of the Committee on Latin America in Minneapolis * it was made clear that work in the churches and church groups in Central and South America is evidently a project of the Lutheran World Federation alone in preference to others. One can hear that without getting upset, since it was not after all the task of the person giving the report to praise the work of others but to show what contribution the LWF has made to work in Latin America. At the meeting of the Committee on Latin America at Dubuque, Iowa, there was much stronger criticism of the work carried on by

² As in other lands, so we too must give an answer to the work of the sects. In 1957 the Inner Mission published a brochure on the Jehovah's Witnesses which was disseminated far beyond the boundaries of our own church, into the Reformed church and into the mission fields in the Cameroun, Madagascar and the Belgian Congo.

* See Lutheran World, IV/3, Dec., 1957, p. 296 ff.

the churches in Central and South America and of the help forthcoming from the mother church of the Reformation. Especially singled out for criticism were the language problem, the *Volkskirche*, too little mission work, poor handling of financial matters, insufficiently intensive work by the laity and lack of interest in public affairs.

It goes without saying that violent objections were raised to this criticism, especially by the president of the Office of Foreign Affairs of the EKID and the presidents of the Synodal Federation in Brazil, who replied to many of the critical remarks. The result was that there was agreement that the LWF and the church in Germany had no ideological conceptions which they wanted to see realized in shaping and developing the churches and church groups in Central and South America; instead they were loyal companions who had to travel the road of the churches in Latin America together, helping one another in true brotherhood; further that the future was to be left in God's hands, to wait and see how he chose to direct the ways of these churches and congregations.

There is no question but that, as we saw it, the demands made of us by our brothers from North America were heavy. They love their model in Caracas beyond measure, the congregation with preaching in ten languages and no more national ties, which conducts itself as an "all-round" Lutheran congregation. For our part, we merely raised the question whether a model congregation of this sort was the panacea for all the criticism that had been raised.

III.

At this point it will be good to come back for a moment to the remark made above, that a great number of Protestant congregations and church groups in Latin America are closely connected, by legal and fraternal ties, to the EKID. In some places a new arrangement has been introduced, because of the laws of those particular lands; in others this has yet to take place. The congregations involved are in Mexico City and those around Lima, Peru and La Paz, Bolivia. The synods are: the *Deutsche Evangelische Kirche in Chile*; the *Sinodo Evangélico Alemán del Río de la Plata* (German Evangelical La Plata Synod) of Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay; and in Brazil a union of the synod of Rio Grande do Sul, the synod of

Santa Catarina and Paraná, the synod of Central Brazil and the Lutheran Church of Brazil into the *Federação Sinodal, Igreja Evangélica de Confissão Luterana no Brasil* (Synodal Federation, Evangelical Church of the Lutheran Confession in Brazil).

It will also be good to look at some statistics. In the German Evangelical Church in Chile we have around 25,000 members, served by 9 pastors sent from Germany. In the La Plata Synod's territory there are 100,000 members, served by 20 pastors. In the Synodal Federation in Brazil we have 650,000 members, served by 190 pastors. In serving these congregations with their sister congregations and preaching stations, we have to contend with great distances. I cannot forget how one of the pastors I visited tried to make clear to me the size of the territory he serves by comparing it to the triangle formed by Berlin, Bentheim and Lörrach in Germany. When the pastor in Mexico City wants to visit his most distant congregation he has to cover 600 miles, and the *propst* of Chile has to travel 2,400 to 3,000 miles in order to visit his most distant congregation.

These churches and synods live not only in a Roman Catholic or a pagan environment but together with many free churches and sects of all kinds. That the Protestants and especially the sects and pentecostal groups have penetrated into the ranks of the lower classes is related to the social structure of the countries of Latin America, with the fact that there is a large lower class and small upper class and that without the presence of the immigrants from Europe there would be no middle class. In Chile the number of those who belong to sects and free churches and stand outside of our Chilean *Deutsche Evangelische Kirche* is reported to be three times as large as the number of our members.

How difficult it is to realize the mission obligation can be seen from the Unida church in the La Plata synod territory. This is a mission church in existence for 50 years as a project of North American churches. Of its 5,000 members, one-fourth are former pagans but three-fourths are mainly German speaking and of German origin.

It is not easy to characterize the Roman Catholic environment in a few words. One finds, especially in southern Brazil, a Catholicism of superior quality, with impressive boarding schools and institutions doing outstanding work. In large areas one finds camouflaged paganism in a pagan environ-

ment where almost no efforts have been made to win it for the church.

IV.

After this brief survey of the situation we turn to the criticism raised at Dubuque and elsewhere since we owe it to one another to listen carefully to what was said.

The Language Problem

All problems should be examined and judged from many angles.

In Chile, German language and culture have continued on with the least interruption and the least opposition. Once again we have German schools all over, supported and promoted by the government of West Germany. After the war a generation grew up without fully mastering the German language; but now there is a very young generation on the way which speaks excellent German, so that it is by no means certain whether the language is gradually degenerating, whether a process of degeneration has been checked or whether a new phase is beginning.

An example of quite another sort is offered by the church in Esperanza in La Plata synod territory. At a very early date this church fell in with its Spanish linguistic environment, and the pastor shifted from German to Spanish preaching in enough time so that the church did not disintegrate but remained. This gives a decisive answer to the belief — hardly encountered anymore — that people can and will be interested in the church only as long as teaching and preaching are in German. But German worship services are offered in Esperanza too, just as in Chile it is absolutely necessary to provide instruction, pastoral care and preaching in two languages. The bilingual approach is then the first solution to the language problem.

How difficult this problem is when it comes down to individual cases can perhaps be illustrated by an experience which I shared at the seminary in Sao Leopoldo. The younger students and teachers were so fed up with German and North American visitors visiting them and telling them they should use Portuguese that they agreed the next time there was a visitor from Germany or America they would dispense with German altogether and speak only Portuguese.

Those regions in Entre Rios, Argentina and Uruguay settled by Germans from Russia are undoubtedly unique from the linguistic

point of view. The present population goes back, by and large, to Germans who emigrated from Germany, mainly from the Hunsrück region in the Rhine Palatinate, between the years 1763 and 1769. They left Germany with 18th-century German, which was permeated with many fragments of French. For a hundred years they lived on the Volga and brought from there both Russian constructions and Russian words. At the end of the last and the beginning of this century they came by circuitous paths via Germany, or by-passing Germany entirely, via Brazil to Argentina and Uruguay, taking with them as they went fragments of Portuguese and new German expressions. Finally, in their new environment they learned Spanish. A visitor from Germany does not find it easy upon the first hearing to recognize the language spoken there as his own mother tongue.

To this must be added the great difficulty of translating German concepts into Spanish or Portuguese. Those in a position to know say that the deeper they penetrate into the language of the respective countries the more they are impressed by how equivocal or ambiguous many words and concepts are and how difficult it is to translate the concepts of the Reformation message into a language that has been shaped by the Roman Catholic and Latin spirit.

The Americans have an excellent training center in Campinas, Brazil, for the missionaries they send to Latin America, where pastors and their wives stay for a year, learn the language and then, thus equipped, begin their work. We lack such a center, for financial reasons. It is usually not possible for the pastors whom we send across to learn the language of the country where they are going before they leave. It is also for the most part impossible, after they have arrived in their new homeland, to have them work with another pastor first in order to learn the new language since there is too much work to do and too few men, their trunks have to be unpacked and they need their salary in order to live. We must do something to remedy this situation soon.

The Volkskirche Heritage from Europe

The European *Volkskirche* heritage is offensive first of all to visitors from North America but also to German visitors of pietistic conventicle background. Among the stones of stumbling are the frequent church festivals with their bazaars, cattle lotteries

and cattle auctions. In Germany we try to create church folk festivals in the good sense of the term, with a missionary [*volksmissionarisch*] thrust to them and a type of genuine sociability capable of appreciating the things of this life. Visitors from North America, however, and evangelists of conventicle background assail the church festivals as festivals of the devil.

It is not out of keeping with the *Volkskirche* character for congregations to behave at the same time in accordance with free church traditions. Each of our pastors in Latin America dreads to think of the month of January, the time when his church council meets — with or without him — to determine his salary for the coming year. We must not forget that in many places these church festivals, although here and there they have perhaps degenerated, have long ago been transformed into good missionary [*volksmissionarisch*] opportunities; and that in those places where they have been abolished for one or two years they have appeared in new dress. Also not to be forgotten is that the church councils, in general, are no longer the despair of their pastors when it comes to the fixing of salaries; they are for the most part aware of their spiritual obligations. A new understanding of the church and money question was evident in many synodical meetings I attended and in many conversations with members of church councils.

Quite beyond description was the worship in one of the churches in Entre Rios: *volkskirchlich*, conducted according to the traditions of a bygone day and pervaded by a pietistic Lutheran atmosphere. We were not able, despite very strenuous efforts, to weaken its hold one whit. Here and there it is still the custom to exclude young men from communion for quite singular reasons. If they appear at the Lord's Supper wearing a gaucho shirt, trousers, belt and boots, they are excluded from partaking of communion: taking on "foreign" customs constitutes grounds for exclusion, a type of logic that can give rise to considerable reflection. It must be said at the same time that such reasons for exclusion from Holy Communion are considered and employed only very rarely.

Too Little Mission Work

We have already called attention briefly to the social structure of the countries mentioned above. The mission question is easier to

discuss than to deal with. Anyone coming from the European economic and cultural middle class enters a completely new and foreign world if he gives up his language and cultural environment and enters that of the gauchos. He loses his moorings, forsakes his customs and pattern of living and sets foot in the strange and vital atmosphere of a different world. The mission of our churches to the lower classes is often romanticized and idealized. To point this out does not, of course, settle the question but it puts it in its proper perspective. Recall once again what a great percentage of the membership of the Unida church in the La Plata synod territory is recruited from among the German immigrants. In Germany the free churches do their mission work not among the de-churched [*entkirchlicht*] but among the most loyal church members. Similarly the mission churches in Latin America find their mission task easier among immigrants of German or European background than among the *caboclos* in the country or in the towns, and cities.

Nevertheless there is no question but that they see their mission obligation and give much thought to it. Very many persons of German background have turned away from their church, they have succumbed to the negative influences or the propaganda of certain eras and no longer find their way back. The missionary obligation is first of all to these. At the same time there is an obligation to the educated people in the middle class we described above. In recent years various pastors to students have been appointed and the appointment of others is being planned in order to do justice to the questions and demands of the educated and, above all, of students.

All along we have had in mind primarily indirect mission activity. That active congregations exist, that in them love is exercised, hope is alive and the word of God is proclaimed, this is the truly legitimate and admissible mission within a Roman Catholic environment.

Financial Matters

When criticism is levelled as serious as that mentioned at the beginning of this article, the question necessarily arises whether *new paths* are being followed or whether everything is the same as it always was, as is asserted to be true for the most part. At the synodical meetings in Temuco and

Rolandia, to take but two examples, the topic of discussion, introduced by laymen, was in each instance a new financial arrangement within the synodical territory. The laymen, not the pastors, demanded that the salaries of pastors be raised. It was also laymen who called for an equalizing system of finances so that poor congregations could be supported by those better off. What this signifies in a world of colonists anyone with some insight can judge for himself.

Lay Activity

This question is equally important. Is it true that our model is still that of the typical one-man church? Hardly! The building of the seminary on the Spiegelberg in São Leopoldo quite unintentionally set a genuine lay movement in motion. The men felt that here was finally a real challenge, those with an education were finally confronted with real tasks, and new evangelical fervor was kindled from town to town and village to village. This service of love raised other questions, such as problems pertaining to the faith and life of the Christian in a modern world. The lectures of a person engaged in Evangelical Academy work in Germany and those of this writer on the work of the academies and on the *Kirchentag* were cordially received by the laymen everywhere, who demonstrated an alert interest in this work. Invasions by spiritualism and anthroposophy call for particular heed to be paid to these new approaches. It is gratifying that in Porto Alegre a group has already been formed to begin work along academy lines, in a manner suited to the country, and to diffuse it through the rest of the country.

Trips to many different areas of Latin American made especially clear to me how much people are hungering for spiritual leadership and spiritual care. Their church presidents and *propsts* should have shared my experiences. It is imperative that presidents and *propsts* be relieved of parish duties — as soon as possible and as completely as possible — so that they can care for their synods and churches, arrange refresher courses for pastors, conduct conferences for members of church councils and assist congregations and synods to be increasingly self-responsible. The guiding principles should be the development of the office of president, and letting the churches be true churches and the synods true synods.

In many places good advantage is being taken of the opportunities that radio offers, with pastors holding devotions and preaching. German recordings of chorales are always in fresh demand.

In examining the criticisms, the particular difficulties of the churches and church groups in Latin America must not, in all fairness, be overlooked. For a long time now these countries have suffered from a still growing inflation which dismisses the question of when the synods that have become independent will be able to get along without material aid from the church at home. The answer is not difficult. The lack of auto transportation for pastors is a great problem. The great distances indicated above show how necessary it is, both in the cities and in the country, that as many pastors as possible have cars. The rise of the price of automobiles until they now cost five times as much as in Germany and the high customs duties make the situation quite difficult.

In the spiritual and intellectual area, the invasion of Latin America by problems of European origin constitutes a great difficulty. Anthroposophy is being systematically propagated from São Paulo through the rest of Brazil. Spiritualism has become a church group with a strong emphasis upon social activity.

Our congregations themselves often live in quite different centuries. Depending on the composition of the congregation, the members picture Germany to be as it was when their forefathers left it. Some cling to the monarchy, others to the Weimar Republic; others are related positively or negatively to the Third Reich and still others live in an awareness of the new patterns established after 1945 which they have personally experienced. To unite them all in the word is not an easy task.

A particular need is the shortage of pastors and Protestant teachers. Here at home we will have to call repeated attention to these two shortages. Instead of exhausting our energy complaining about the Roman Catholic teachers that are to be found everywhere, we must ask why Protestant teachers are not volunteering.

V.

The situation of Protestantism in Latin America raises some questions for the mother church of the Reformation, i.e., for us here in Germany. For one thing the manner and

frequency of church visitations to Latin America. For another, the manner and form of the reports of these visitations. It is quite understandable that in the years immediately after the war, when our doors had again opened to the outside, numerous visitations should go through the different Latin American countries; understandable also that these visitors were concerned about visiting all countries and synods. They spoke before rich and poor, the educated and the uneducated; people were glad to see them and to hear them. Their reports were not always so cordially received although they were astonishingly well-informed. Often they were too critical and applied the standards from home too rigidly to the problems of Latin America and so did not always do justice to the opportunities at hand. At the same time a very great deal was learned from these reports and by and large they have done more good than harm. Nevertheless, now that we are into a second period, we should consider whether visitations should not become fewer, whether visitors should be selected and appointed only after careful consideration by those responsible, and whether they should receive commissions specifying what particular areas they should cover so that their visits will have a more profound effect and contribute to growth. In this respect the LWF Committee on Latin America and the EKiD cooperate very successfully.

Another serious problem is that of new contacts between Latin America and Germany in addition to those concerned purely with church matters. There is no German press service in Chile and all news coming to Germany from there is filtered through the sieve of North American and British news agencies. The assertion that "we have been written off, we are forgotten"—which we hear again and again from East Germany—is also made in Latin America. Love for their German homeland is great beyond measure and their confidence in the mother church of the Reformation is immense. Instead of making use of these opportunities we let our brothers wait and thirst and hunger. Nevertheless much *is* done and, despite all, that which is done is received with great appreciation—above all the sending of pastors from Germany.

A question of particular urgency, addressed to the church in Germany but also to the churches in North America, is how serious

we really are about churches and church groups in Latin America discovering their own peculiar character and pattern of living and going their own way. The dissociation of Latin American churches from alien models and from ideologies is one of the most important demands of the present moment.

VI.

The North American churches at work in Latin America frequently say that in five years Latin America will consist of highly industrialized countries and that it is imperative to awaken the churches before that date so that they will be ready to take their place in the new industrial era. These are feverish estimates and they are incorrect. Nevertheless there is a kernel of truth in them. We must reckon with the industrialization of large areas, especially in Brazil, and we must recognize that we share responsibility for our churches and congregations in Latin America, their missionary vigor and the capacity of their people.

Coming into Rio de Janeiro on a night flight you can see the over-105-foot statue of Christ, blessing and extending his invitation to all, Christ the Lord of the world. Looking at him, we are called upon to free ourselves ever again from economic, political and nationalistic demands and wishes and to concern ourselves about the building of the kingdom of God in all parts of the world—also in Latin America.

The question of the "living testimony" which was posed to us from Siberia is at the same time a question which is directed to us here in Germany from Latin America.

ADOLF WISCHMANN

India

The Lutheran Churches in South India and the Church of South India: New Developments since 1956

Continuation of the Contacts

The last report in the LUTHERAN WORLD (Vol. III, No. 2, p. 178 ff.) on the conversations between the Lutherans in South India and the Church of South India

(CSI) dealt with the situation after the meeting in Bangalore in April, 1956. This situation was characterized by certain unresolved differences of opinion on the ministry and the nature of the church and, along with these differences, renewed doubts on both sides regarding the possibility of a comprehensive agreement. Admittedly, the program of doctrinal discussions drawn up in 1951 had been brought to a close, and the consensus which had been reached on the various points went considerably further than either side had expected. Nevertheless a certain amount of uncertainty remained when the meeting broke up in Bangalore in 1956 without agreeing on a date or a theme for a continuation of the conversations (*ibid.*, p. 179). This uncertainty was increased by the printed but unofficial report of the chairman of the Lutheran group taking part in the negotiations; this report outlined the situation roughly as follows: The CSI had virtually adopted episcopacy as understood by the Anglicans, that is, with the inclusion of the apostolic succession. In so doing they had abandoned in an important respect the primacy of Scripture as the highest authority in the church, although they themselves had at one time admitted this primacy of Scripture. Thus the relationship of the two churches had reached a point at which unrelinquishable convictions of conscience stood opposed to one another, so that there was no prospect of an agreement on union within the foreseeable future. Further efforts should therefore be restricted to striving for cooperation on a federative basis (W. Hellinger, *The Nature of the Church, Report about the theological discussions between the Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches and the Church of South India in Bangalore, 18th and 19th April, 1956*).

The same writer formulated the alternative, as he saw it, even more sharply elsewhere. According to Lutheran teaching, he said, the church is to be found where the word and sacraments are rightly administered. But according to the opinion of the CSI the church is to be found "where there are ministers in office who have been ordained by bishops who themselves have been consecrated by bishops in a line of succession stretching back to the primitive church." If then the Lutherans were to agree to a union with the CSI, "the ultimate result would be that the Lutherans would have to become Anglicans" (*Evangelische Missionszeitschrift*, 1957, p. 55 f.

Cf. also R. Lipp and H.-W. Gensichen, "Um die theologischen Gespräche in Südin-dien," *ibid.*, 1957, p. 89 f.).

It seemed at first sight to be in line with this appraisal of the situation when the Lutherans in South India agreed, at a special conference soon after the conversation in Bangalore in 1956, to press forward toward a Lutheran merger in South India, in which the Missouri Synod church was also to be included. To be sure, the same session of the executive committee of the Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches, which took note of these decisions "with pleasure," also made it clear that they were not to be regarded as a substitute for a continuation of the contacts with the CSI. This showed that by no means all Lutherans in South India judged the prospects for such contacts so pessimistically as some did (cf. the *Gospel Witness*, December, 1956, Supplement, pp. 2 f., 36).

As a matter of fact, a direct contact between the president of the FELC, Bishop Rajah B. Manikam, and the leaders of the CSI had meanwhile revealed that both sides wanted by all means to continue the conversation. A letter sent to Bishop Manikam by the Moderator of the CSI, Bishop H. Sumitra, and the chairman of its theological commission, Bishop Lesslie Newbigin, on October 16, 1956, had expressed regret over the misunderstandings:

It is our understanding of the position that the talks have in no sense broken down; what has been decided is that the next phase of discussion should be by means of conferences in the regional languages, and arrangements for these conferences are going forward. We believe that these conferences will be of great value and will deserve much careful preparation and attention. So far as the Church of South India is concerned we assure you that the CSI is ready and eager to continue discussions, and prays earnestly for the coming of the day when our Churches will be one (*ibid.*, p. 11).

The Lutheran answer to this letter, formulated by the executive committee of the FELC in October, 1956, emphasized that the Lutherans too desired a continuation of the conversation. At the same time the CSI was asked to give a clarification of the following questions, which, in the opinion of the Lutherans, it had not been possible to answer satisfactorily at Bangalore:

- (1) What is the meaning of the "historic episcopate"?

- (2) In what does the continuity of the ministry lie?
- (3) What constitutes the validity of the ministry?

In addition the member churches of the FELC were called upon to report before the next meeting of the Executive committee "as to what has been done in regard to the agreed statements (adopted in former discussions with the CSI) and cooperation with the CSI." Bishop Manikam was able to report on the preparations for a broadly-based joint theological conference for the Tamil-speaking region and recommended similar steps for the Telugu area (the *Gospel Witness*, January, 1957, p. 112).

The conference for the Tamil-speaking region was held at the beginning of April, 1957, in Mathurai, with nearly two hundred participants from the CSI and the Lutheran churches of South India. The discussion of the joint doctrinal statements on law and gospel and on holy communion adopted in earlier doctrinal conversations with the CSI resulted in some suggestions for amendments which were to be brought before the joint theological commission of the two churches. In addition the ministry and the nature of the church were discussed.

In the meantime another important suggestion of the Bangalore conference of 1956 had been taken up: at the end of November, 1956, a committee composed of professors and students of two theological seminaries of the CSI and two Lutheran ones — including the seminary of the Missouri Synod mission — met in Tirumalaiyur to work on the question of a common catechism for the Lutheran churches and the CSI. One result of the very thorough consultations was "a sufficiently wide measure of agreement to justify the hope that further study of the possibility of a common Catechism might prove fruitful. Lutherans and those of the Anglican heritage who have a Catechism recognize the need in either case for its revision and adaptation to new circumstances and needs" (*The South India Churchman*, May, 1957, p. 15). The committee decided to continue its work with an examination of the existing catechisms and courses of catechetical instruction, keeping particularly in view the missionary situation of the Indian church, since the catechisms which have been in use hitherto were after all normally intended originally for the instruction of those who were already Christians.

A notable development in the area of local cooperation between a Lutheran church and the CSI has taken place in the South Indian town of Karaikudi. In this rapidly growing city the problem arose that Christians of both churches were living alongside one another and that neither of the two groups had a suitable church building of its own. After the leaders of the two churches had got into touch with one another, it was agreed that instead of building two churches they should build a common church for both groups. On July 7, 1957, Lutheran Bishop Manikam laid the cornerstone of the church, and the representative of the CSI bishop of the district preached the sermon.

Statement of the CSI Concerning the Ministry

Perhaps the most important development in the contacts between the Lutherans and the CSI is to be seen in the statement which the CSI issued in answer to the Lutherans' three questions concerning the ministry. It was worked out by the Theological Commission of the CSI on September 25, 1957, and on account of its especial importance it is reproduced here in full, as follows.

"I. In reply to the questions addressed to us by the FELC, we would direct attention to the following paragraphs of the Constitution of the CSI:

"*The Episcopate in the Church of South India*: The Church of South India accepts and will maintain the historic episcopate in a constitutional form. But this acceptance does not commit it to any particular interpretation of episcopacy or to any particular view or belief concerning orders of the ministry, and it will not require the acceptance of any such particular interpretation or view as a necessary qualification for its ministry.

"Whatever differing interpretations there may be, however, the Church of South India agrees that, as Episcopacy has been accepted in the Church from early times, it may in this sense fitly be called historic, and that it is needed for the shepherding and extension of the Church in South India. Any additional interpretations, though held by individuals, are not binding on the Church of South India.

"The meaning in which the Church of South India thus officially accepts a historic and constitutional episcopacy is that in it:

(I) the bishops shall perform their functions in accordance with the customs of the Church,

those functions being named and defined in the later chapters of this Constitution ;

(II) the bishops shall be elected, both the diocese concerned in each particular case and the authorities of the Church of South India as a whole having an effective voice in their appointment ;

(III) continuity with the historic episcopate will be effectively maintained, it being understood that, as stated above, no particular interpretation of the historic episcopate as that is accepted in the Church of South India is thereby implied or shall be demanded from any minister or member of the Church ; and

(IV) every ordination of presbyters shall be performed by the laying on of hands by the bishops and presbyters, and all consecrations of bishops shall be performed by the laying on of hands at least of three bishops.

"The Church of South India believes that in all ordinations and consecrations the true Ordainer and Consecrator is God, who in response to the prayers of His Church, and through the words and acts of its representatives, commissions and empowers for the office and work to which they are called the persons whom it has selected.

"In the service of consecration of a bishop in the Church of South India, the person to be consecrated shall be solemnly presented to the bishop presiding at the consecration by three presbyters of the diocese to which he is to be appointed, and these three presbyters shall join with the bishops in the laying on of hands. If, however, the Diocesan Council concerned specially so determine, hands shall be laid on by the bishops only.

"In making the provision for episcopal ordination and consecration, the Church of South India declares that it is its intention and determination in this manner to secure the unification of the ministry, but that this does not involve any judgment upon the validity or regularity of any other form of the ministry, and the fact that other Churches do not follow the rule of episcopal ordination will not in itself preclude it from holding relations of communion and fellowship with them' (Constitution II, 11).

"We specially draw attention to the last paragraph which makes it clear, as do the rest of the Constitution and the practice of the CSI, that the CSI does not consider episcopal ordination essential for a valid ministry (see also Ch. II, 14 and 15) ; and that the intention of the CSI in making

provision for episcopal ordination is to secure the unity of the Church (see also Ch. II, 13, 2nd para.). We would also draw attention to the following sentence :

"The Church of South India acknowledges that, in every effort to bring together divided members of Christ's Body into one organization, the final aim must be the union in the Universal Church of all who acknowledge the name of Christ, and that the test of all local schemes of union is that they should express locally the principle of the great catholic unity of the Body of Christ' (Constitution II, 2).

"II. The element of continuity has several aspects, all of which must be kept in view. There is need to preserve and preach the apostolic faith uncorrupted. There is the need to continue the due celebration of the Sacraments. There is also the need to continue unbroken the visible fellowship into which Christ called His disciples and into which the Holy Spirit called others after Pentecost and which constitutes the Church. The ministry is concerned with all of these and equal stress must be laid on all three. The N.T. does not permit us to isolate any one as alone determinative. The relation of ministerial continuity to the continuing life of the Church as a whole is twofold : on the one hand, the ministry is the organ through which God builds up the Church from generation to generation through Word, Sacrament and pastoral care ; on the other hand the ministry is an organ of continuity in the life of the Church, because in ordination it receives authority from the Church and in turn passes it on to the ministry of the next generation. The history of the development of the ministry shows that the practice of episcopal ordination was valued as providing a safeguard of continuity in these three matters, viz., the purity of the faith, the due administration of the sacraments and the maintenance of visible unity. In the CSI, as in other Churches, it is an essential part of ordination that the Church should be satisfied regarding the intention of the ordinand to preach the orthodox faith and rightly to administer the sacraments. The orderly transmission of ministerial authority by ordination is the safeguard for the Church's continuing in one faith. To set continuity in faith against continuity of fellowship is to forget that the faith which is to be preserved is the faith once delivered to the saints and not something given by private revelation to individuals.

"III. Every Church which practices ordination understands what is meant by a valid ministry in the sense that every Church knows clearly which persons in it are duly authorized as ministers. Not only is the concept of validity perfectly clear within the context of one church, but this concept is rooted in the idea of continuity. No minister is regarded as validly ordained unless he is ordained by those who have previously received the authority of the Church thereto.

"The difficulty arises from the fact that in the divided state of Christendom, no ministry has behind it the authority of the whole Church. Hence ordinations accepted as valid in one part of Christendom are not so accepted in other parts. The question arises how far the concept of validity can be used in regard to the ministries of a divided Church. As far as the CSI is concerned, we in fact acknowledge as ministers persons ordained in other Churches with which we have fellowship, whether episcopally ordained or not. But at the same time our Constitution makes it clear that we believe it to be the will of God that all who acknowledge the name of Christ should be one, and this will imply that there should be a ministry universally acknowledged. Such a ministry would be one which carried the full authority of the undivided Church from the earliest times. This may not actually be possible, but we believe that every Church should aim at the nearest possible approximation to it. For this reason the Synod, in listing the minimum essentials for any plan of union, has included as one of the elements 'a ministry carrying the greatest possible degree of authority and acceptance' (1956—20, para. 6c).

"IV. In working towards this goal, it is clear that Churches should not be asked to sever continuity with their own past. On the contrary, the ministry of a united Church should carry the full authority of the ministries of the uniting Churches. Thus when the CSI was formed, the existing bishops and presbyters were commissioned in the name of the whole Church and the new bishops were consecrated by the laying on of hands of bishops or presbyters from each of the uniting Churches. We think a similar procedure should be adopted in any future union.

"V. As we are concerned with the practical task of Christian reunion, we have to take into account the facts of history and the present situation in Christendom. In view of

the place which the historic episcopate has held from early times, and still holds, throughout a large part of Christendom, there cannot be a universally accepted ministry which does not include the historic episcopate as one element.

"VI. We now give brief answers to the three specific questions asked by the FELC, but these must be read in the light of the general statement above.

- (1) What is the meaning of the historic episcopate?

The meaning in which the CSI understands the historic episcopate is stated in Constitution II, already quoted.

- (2) In what does the continuity of the ministry lie?

The continuity of the ministry lies in the continued preaching of the same Gospel and administration of the same Sacraments within the unbroken fellowship of the same body which Christ sent forth into the world. This continuity is normally secured by ordination at the hands of those who have already received authority thereto from the Church.

- (3) What constitutes the validity of the ministry? A valid ministry must include the following elements.

- (a) A call from God to the man concerned.
- (b) The Church's acceptance of the man as having such a call.
- (c) The prayer of the Church in ordination that God will give to the man through the Holy Spirit the grace to fulfill his calling.
- (d) The commission of the Church to exercise the office of a minister, given in the faith that God has heard its prayer."

HANS-WERNER GENSICHEN

Indonesia

Hospital to Theological Seminary: Nommensen University

On arriving in Pematang Siantar from the capital of north Sumatra, Medan, just before reaching the large bus station you see a broad campus, which a high wooden signboard announces as "Universitas H.K.B.P. Nom-

mensen." On October 7, 1954, the Batak Church, which with its 700,000 members is the largest single church in southeast Asia, founded its university here. The site and those buildings which were still standing had been acquired with the aid of the Lutheran World Federation from the British firm Harrison and Crosfield. The property had been used by the plantation firm as a hospital. During the disturbances of the war and the revolution (1942-1949) it had suffered serious damage. But a small administrative building at the front and six houses containing hospital wards had remained in a tolerably good condition.

The council of the Batak Church recognized with wise foresight that the property would be well suited for the erection of an educational institution. So in 1954 two of the houses were first converted provisionally into housing for students and a third was fitted out with lecture rooms. In the fall of 1954 it was possible to begin instruction in the theological faculty. In the summer of 1956 a new university building was erected, with two lecture rooms and an auditorium, which also serves as the chapel. Then the three remaining houses were converted into students' dormitories; each had separate sleeping and study accommodation for four students. Whereas the dormitories and the common dining hall are situated on the side of the campus nearest to the town, accommodation for the teaching staff has been provided on the outer side of the campus towards the woods. The lecture halls and the library are at the organic center of the campus. Like all the university buildings, the houses occupied by the teaching staff consist of a single story. The architect employed by the Batak Church, Hans Klaiss, has planned and executed the reorganization and erection of the whole campus and its buildings in a manner that is both functional and beautiful. The money was provided by the Department of World Mission within the framework of its reconstruction program.

Three Groups, One Aim

For the current academic year there are altogether 132 students enrolled at the Theological Seminary of the H.K.B.P. Nommensen University. They belong to three different training groups, whose common aim, however, is the ministry of the church. The group which is numerically strongest belongs to the Theological School. The boys and, more recently, also girls, who attend it have their

junior high school diploma. Their training covers five years and includes a period of field work lasting three months or more. Most of them serve as Sunday School teachers in the congregations of Siantar. The next largest group consists of the theological students proper, who have their university matriculation certificate or have graduated from a teachers' training seminary of similar standard. Their course of study also lasts five years. Their curriculum includes the study of Greek and Hebrew and biblical exegesis in the original languages. The third and last group is formed by married primary school teachers who have been serving congregations in part time pastoral work and have many years of experience in preaching and teaching. They take a three-year course in theology. On completion of their studies all students or ordinands are ordained to the full ministry.

In the seminary one finds alongside of seventeen-year-old high school graduates experienced teachers in their thirties. The wives of the teachers form a special group; they take afternoon courses in singing, hygiene, Bible study and sewing. Of the 132 students 12 are girls, two of whom are about to take their final examinations. The great problem then arises as to what work can be given to these young women which will be commensurate both with their education and with the opportunities for working within Indonesian society in 1958.

The differences in age and previous education are very great within these three groups of future pastors, and this naturally has its effect on the method of teaching; in addition there is a shortage of time and teaching staff. Training all the students for the ministry means that one cannot generally draw sharp distinctions between the three groups. On the other hand, if one is to do anything like justice to the academic nature of university training, one cannot put the groups together for all subjects. If, for example, there are classes and lectures on Christian education in the senior years, it will be necessary to treat the subject in one way when instructing teachers who have ten years' or more experience and in quite a different way when instructing young students of whom hardly a single one has ever stood in front of a class. At any rate, in the first year the students in the theological school and the theological students can if necessary be given joint instruction on the Bible. This is in fact what happened last year when one of the professors took the poetical books and

wisdom literature of the Old Testament with the first-year classes of both the theological faculty and the theological school. The classes were, to be sure, separate, but it was possible for the teacher's lesson preparation for both groups to be more or less the same. At the same time it is quite natural that in a class of six capable faculty students questions and subjects are gone into which are not even mentioned in the first-year class of the theological school. In such a small group teaching leads naturally to a discussion in which the students themselves ask the questions. The attempt is also made in the larger classes to get away as much as possible from the formal manner of lectures. Unfortunately this effort is hindered by the great amount of material which has to be covered.

Perhaps the question will be raised as to why we keep speaking of "classes." In the theological training center at Siantar there is no system of lectures comparable to that at European universities, where the student works out his own plan of study; seen from the outside the system is more like that of a school. Each class, or each year, has its own schedule, which is fixed. Each student is obliged to attend all the lectures and classes of his year. The class hours vary with the age of the student, between 14 and 26 per week. The first year is regarded as a trial year. A student who does not pass the final examinations of his class at the end of the first year cannot be accepted for the second year.

From Lands and Churches

The members of the teaching staff come from diverse churches and countries. But the common task is emphasized by the fact that all the full-time professors are pastors of the Batak Church (H.K.B.P.) and of Lutheran origin. As pastors of the Batak Church they are entitled to preach and administer the sacraments.

The president of the university and the dean of the theological faculty are Indonesians and come from the Batak Church. The former, Dr. Andar L. Tobing, received his doctor's degree a year ago under Helmut Gollwitzer in Bonn; he teaches dogmatics and ethics. The dean, Pastor Gustav Siahaan, is professor of church history and general history. The professor who has been on the staff of the university longest is Pastor Samuel Devanesan of the Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Church,

who has been teaching in the Batak Church since 1950, at first in Sipholon, then since 1954 in Siantar; his principal subjects are practical theology, introduction to the Bible and visual aids for teaching. In 1955 Pastor Alfred Rutkowsky joined the staff from the Evangelical Church in Hesse and Nassau. Already before the war he was a missionary on a station belonging to the southern part of the Batak Church in Angkola and is now teaching comparative religion at the seminary, with special reference to Islam. Dr. Lothar Schreiner was put on leave by the Evangelical Church of Westphalia in 1956 in order to take up this work. He teaches biblical and systematic subjects and Greek. Since the beginning of 1957 Dr. Walter Lempp from the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Württemberg has been professor of Old Testament. At the end of 1956 Pastor Gerhard O. Reitz of the American Lutheran Church came to Siantar as the L.W.F. representative in the Batak Church. His subjects are church history and pastoral theology. Previously Pastor Reitz had been working as a missionary in the Papuan church in eastern New Guinea. The former professor of New Testament, Pastor Tiemeyer, after five years of teaching activity, had to return to Germany in April, 1957, because of serious illness. Dr. Keith Bridston, who had lectured in social ethics and ecumenical subjects, accepted at about the same time a position in the headquarters of the World Council of Churches in Geneva. As yet no successors have been found for these two professors. The former president of the university, Pastor T. Sihombing, who rendered valuable service in the building up of the university from the beginning, was elected last June as the general secretary of the H.K.B.P.

Five members of the teaching staff come from member churches of the Lutheran World Federation, two from Lutheran synods within union churches. A classification according to the bodies which support the work here reveals that two of the professors are supported by the H.K.B.P. alone, two with the help of the LWF, and three in conjunction with the Rhenish Mission. In addition to these full-time professors there are quite a number of part-time teachers.

The faculty has rightly said that the seminary must come into contact with the neighboring churches on Sumatra for the sake of the fellowship of the Indonesian churches. For this reason the Protestant churches of north Sumatra have received invitations to guest

lectures, so that in this way the Reformed churches and the Methodists also take part in the work of the school. The faculty is acquiring an increasingly ecumenical character.

The students come primarily from the Batak Church, but from the very beginning there have been some students from other churches, such as the Nias Church (B.N.K.P.), the Mentawai Church and the Methodist Church.

Already in the first three years since its founding three other Indonesian churches have expressed their willingness to cooperate. If the school continues to develop along these lines it may be assumed that in a few years' time Siantar will become a theological training center for all the churches of western Indonesia.

LOTHAR SCHREINER

CORRESPONDENCE

The Ordination of Women

Sir: A controversy over the ordination of women pastors, similar to that in Sweden (cf. the article by Sten Rodhe in LUTHERAN WORLD, Vol. IV, No. 4, March, 1958, p. 392 ff.), arose recently in the synod of the church of Saxony. As an interim measure it has been decided that women may, in cases of emergency, exercise certain ministerial functions, but actual permission to mount the pulpit would still be dependent on the decision of the church council in the individual congregations. I know of a case of this kind. It is my opinion that one should not get into heated argument about it, but should allow ordination — for an emergency situation is what we have. I am certain that only a few ambitious women, or those who are really called to the ministry, would avail themselves of the opportunity. Why should we deny it to them? I have had but limited opportunity to observe women in the pulpit and at the altar, and these occasions have left me with either a very positive impression (e.g., in Saxony, where it was a middle-aged woman pastor) or none at all (e.g., in other churches, where the women were younger). Yet in fairness it must at once be added that my experiences with men in the ministry are also by no means always "impressive." And it seems to me, if I may be excused for saying so, that that is where the shoe pinches: the men are afraid that, at any rate to begin with, only an elite group of women would mount the pulpit, and that these women, by their ability or their readiness to serve, might put 50 to 80 per cent of their fellow-ministers in the shade; that as a logical consequence it would then be necessary to open up to the women who were called the office of superintendent or *probst* — not to mention the idea of a right reverend madam bishop.

But what pastor would like to receive pastoral advice from a woman? Even a musician has to make a great effort to perform in public under a woman conductor.

But I can even see a movement under way which is tending toward a kind of matriarchy. In large sections of the population today woman is already superior to man in achievement, endurance and effective drive. Man's psychical potential is being undermined by a peculiar inclination toward management with all its accompanying phenomena. Men can-

not halt this movement by putting up barriers — which are falling anyway — but they can by being humble and keeping their heads.

For us that means that we must first stop being "office-bearers," "Reverends," "doctors of divinity," "church officials" (and thus often diplomats, intriguers, pedants and autocrats) and become again real servants of our Lord Jesus Christ and at most the first among equals in the congregation, before we would be in any kind of position at all to pass judgment on the calling to the ministry which would exclude women.

ANDREAS ZWEYNERT

*Fischbach bei Dresden,
Germany*

The Lutheran Congregations in South America

Sir: Again and again one hears remarks by ecumenical travelers on the financial weakness of the Lutheran congregations in South America. It is said that their church contributions are on a low level. The same criticism was also made in Minneapolis (e.g. by Dr. Stewart Herman, see LUTHERAN WORLD, Vol. IV, No. 3, December 1957, p. 300). Pastors and members of the congregations in Brazil cannot simply go along with this judgment. I take the liberty therefore of recounting some facts relative to this issue.

In most parishes a family contribution equivalent to about four to five dollars per year is levied. From force of habit it is erroneously called the "pastor's salary"; this is correct in so far as this money is used almost exclusively for parish expenses, i.e., for the pastor's salary and travel costs, and also for the small contribution to the synod. In many places this family contribution is graduated according to income.

But in addition to this contribution there are all kinds of offerings which are solicited and given in other ways. Let us start at the level of the local congregation, which usually belongs to a larger church unit or district. The cost of the erection and maintenance of the church or chapel and the provision and maintenance of bells and cemeteries is borne by the congregation and is not included in

the family contribution ; often a special or an additional contribution is levied. Many congregations are involved in building projects — in most cases without any outside support — since the old buildings have become too small and the difficulties caused by the war period have only just been overcome.

Elementary education in the public schools is supposed to be free of charge. But a person who wants his children to have a Protestant education is usually a member of a Protestant school association which builds and maintains a parish school and in addition pays a Protestant teacher, for whom the state subsidizes the association only very inadequately. The families, which are often quite large, thus have to pay in addition to the sum mentioned above a certain sum for Protestant education, which amounts to about \$10 per year for each child in the primary school ; in the Protestant secondary schools and teachers' colleges — also maintained by the church — this sum amounts to around \$250 or more, since the great distances in Brazil necessitate sending children to a boarding school.

Additional payments must also be levied by parishes which on account of their constant expansion want to acquire an automobile. Cars — in most cases it is the American jeep which is wanted — cost about four times as much as in Germany, according to the official rate of exchange. This money too is provided by these same members from a special budget, which also covers the building of the pastor's house, among other things. In many places radio mission work is carried on — and again this is paid for by the congregations or their auxiliaries.

There are also collections for tasks which concern the whole church. The deaconess

house in Sao Leopoldo was built and has been maintained up to the present largely by the gifts of women's auxiliaries. Collections were made, also among the Protestant youth groups, for the erection of the seminary in Sao Leopoldo. A noteworthy beginning was made by a doctor, who within a year organized a thousand members into a lay movement and together with them collected \$25,000 for this building project ; this is nothing but "stewardship," even if this word is perhaps not yet in use.

A third of the budget in the largest Protestant body in South Brazil, the Rio Grande Synod, is provided by a department of relief which receives individual gifts of quite large sums from prosperous church members, thus working toward an appropriate distribution of the financial burdens and the propagation of the stewardship idea.

It is only when one takes note of all these tasks and expenses for the congregation, the parish and the church as a whole that one realizes the actual burden which our congregations bear — and their love for the church. This in answer to those who criticize the family contribution, which makes up scarcely a fifth of the total. There is much that remains to be done, over and above this ; Portuguese church literature must be produced, a church of half a million members must fulfill tasks which in other lands are supported by many millions of Lutherans. Our church has made a beginning with what little it has, and intends to grow in strength. Therefore we make the same request which Dr. Herman made at the close of his report : We need your support and your prayers.

CHRISTOPH JAHN

Brazil

BOOK REVIEWS

Barth through Roman Catholic Eyes

RECHTFERTIGUNG. *Die Lehre Karl Barths und eine katholische Besinnung. Mit einem Geleitbrief von Karl Barth.* By Hans Küng. Einsiedeln: Johannes Verlag, 1957. 304 pp. Sw. Fr. 18.50.

In the past decade Roman Catholic theology has taken an increasing interest in Karl Barth and his theology so that at present there is already a large literature on the subject. The present volume by HANS KÜNG belongs in this category. The work on the volume was done at the Collegium Germanicum in Rome and it was published by the recently established Roman Catholic institute for confessional research in Paderborn, Germany.* It is distinguished from the majority of the other Roman Catholic works however in that it contains not polemics against Barth but an attempt to correctly reproduce his theological position. This is followed by a presentation of the corresponding conceptions in present-day Roman Catholic theology in which the author comes to the undoubtedly somewhat surprising conclusion that these two theologies agree in all essential points.

The first part of the work, chapters 1 to 19, is entitled "Justification by Faith in Karl Barth." The presentation is clear and concise and contains a number of important quotations from Barth's *Dogmatik*. Küng first examines the place which justification by faith assumes in Barth's overall theological outlook ("Justification and *Heilsgeschichte*," pp. 21-45) and then delineates the individual characteristics of Barth's teaching on justification by faith ("Effecting Justification by Faith," pp. 46-101.) That the author has despite his very concentrated presentation succeeded in correctly reproducing Barth's most important ideas is attested by Barth himself in his prefatory "Letter to the Author" in which he says that the reader can rest assured "that you [Küng] allow me to say what I do say and that I intend it in the sense in which you have me say it" (p. 11).

The second part of the book, entitled "Attempt at a Catholic Answer" (chapters

20-33), is substantially longer and is also divided into two main divisions. The first division, "Foundations" (pp. 105-193), begins with a chapter, important from the methodological point of view, on "Justification by Faith Then and Now." Here the author presents his conception—important for his later treatment—of the development of Roman Catholic doctrine, which then constitutes the fundamental point of departure for the dogmatic section of his book.

Since Barth has directed his critique of the Roman doctrine of justification by faith primarily against the Council of Trent, it is one of Küng's concerns to call attention to the "limited character" of the Tridentine decretals. These are conditioned by the struggle with the Reformation and are for that reason one-sided in their attention to the process of justification within man. Yet no one—not even the council itself—has ever asserted that thus "everything has been said that there is to say about the justification of man" (p. 112). The Tridentine concept of justification remains open and should be taken as "complementary" (p. 228). Quite as false, says the author, is "simply to equate the full and living Catholic doctrine with the theology of the present textbooks" for there are "very many things not found in textbooks which are nevertheless Catholic doctrine" (p. 115).

The author designates Scripture as the first source of Catholic doctrine and theology (p. 116 f.); accordingly, in the study that follows he bases what he says, point for point, upon exegetical investigations, proceeding from the principle that "all theological and philosophical categories... [must] be measured by and oriented toward the categories of the word of God" (p. 118). Küng emphasizes furthermore that the task of tradition, as a second source of revelation, does not consist in supplementing Scripture but in interpreting and illustrating it. With this thesis he affirms the critique which has been directed—in Germany above all by the Roman Catholic theologian J. R. Geiselmann—against the post-Tridentine Roman theology of tradition.

In the following chapters (21 to 26) Küng treats briefly christology (centering mainly upon Christ's pre-existence) as well as the doctrines of creation and sin. This selection of material is conditioned by the undoubtedly correct insight that "the fundamental ques-

* See the report in this issue, p. 73.

tions of the doctrine of justification by faith are decided by christology and the doctrines of creation and of sin connected with christology" (p. 189). It is with particular interest that Evangelical theology finds that the author is critical of the Scholastic terminology employed within Roman Catholic theology, according to which the theological concept of "freedom" is identified with man's "freedom of choice." "Is it not dangerous," asks Küng, "to call him 'free' whom Scripture designates a 'slave'?" (p. 184). The tentative findings of this chapter are summarized as follows: "As far as the foundations of the doctrine of justification by faith are concerned, Barth stands, on the whole, on the same ground as we Catholics" (p. 193).

In the main division that follows, entitled "The Reality of Justification" (pp. 194-276), the various elements of justification are treated. On the basis of an exegetical investigation the author declares that grace is not — as is often asserted in Roman Catholic dogmatic books — a physical entity in the human subject but instead *the kindness and favor of God* and "a being and behavior of the living God himself" (p. 196). He says that the central concepts employed in the Scholastic doctrine of grace, *habitus* and *gratia creata*, are "capable of being misunderstood" and can "easily lead to misconceptions" (cf. pp. 197 and 203)! According to the original meaning of the biblical word, justification should be defined as *to declare righteous in a court decision* (p. 206). Since however "the word of God — in contrast to the word of man — *does* what it says," therefore "God's declaration of righteousness is at the same time and in one act the *effecting* of righteousness" (p. 210 f). Küng seeks to explain the absence of these thoughts in the preponderant majority of Roman Catholic treatments of justification by faith by saying that "all truths of faith need not be represented in the consciousness [of the church] to the same degree at all times" (p. 213)! He likewise concedes that in Roman Catholic dogmatics it is "somewhat unusual" to speak of justification in connection with Christ's death and resurrection. This can be explained however by the fact that what Protestants call "justification" the Catholics designate for the most part as "redemption." After these explanations the author comes to the conclusion that not only the "foundations" of Barth's teaching on justification but also his actual "concept of justification coincides with

the Catholic concept" (p. 224). This thesis is underlined again in the following pages by an examination of the Reformation formulas, *simul iustus et peccator* and *sola fide*, the author calling attention to point after point where Karl Barth's theology is in agreement with his own interpretation of the Roman position: "As far as the problems treated here are concerned, there is no real reason why Karl Barth should be separated from the early [i.e., Roman Catholic] church" (p. 269).

This brief survey enables one to see already that Küng's work will quite likely call forth a certain amount of astonishment on both sides of the confessional boundaries. To the Roman Catholic reader Küng's almost unreserved approbation of Barth's theology will undoubtedly appear problematic and at very many points he will very likely have criticisms to make of Küng's description of the Roman Catholic position. And the Protestant theologian with some acquaintance with Roman Catholic theology shares this scepticism.

Undoubtedly this study of the question of justification offers a new and heartening example of the way in which individual Roman Catholic theologians, through a study of the primary sources and above all of the Bible, arrive at a hitherto unknown understanding of the theology of the Reformers and their concerns. In Küng this is seen clearly in his definitions of "grace" and "justification" which lead him logically to a critique of traditional Roman Catholic theology as well as its terms and basic questions. It is here that we really come face to face with what the author in the subtitle of his book calls "a Catholic consideration."

Unfortunately it is still not possible for us to label the contents and the basic tenor of the book as a representative expression of present-day Roman Catholic theology. The bases of Küng's presentation are, despite assurances to the contrary, so limited that "the fullness of Catholic truth" can hardly be expressed within their compass. We will mention a few examples in demonstration of this.

In his entire presentation Küng appeals primarily to declarations of the Synod of Orange, a synod which in the course of many centuries has gone unnoticed in Roman Catholic theology and whose "dogmatic value" is, as the author himself indicates (p. 177), still continually "in dispute." His desperate attempts to harmonize the doctrinal

statements of this synod with those of the Council of Trent are therefore not very convincing. Further, in his treatment of the merit concept the author bypasses, for some inexplicable reason, the whole difficulty connected with the thought — so characteristic of Roman Catholic theology — that man's merit can effect an *augmentum gratiae et gloriae*. Yet in Denzinger's *Index Systematicus* there are no less than 16 references to this important idea in Roman Catholic theology! K  ng furthermore lays considerable emphasis upon the thesis that the church is *simul justa et peccatrix* (p. 240 f.). This thesis is in direct contradiction however to the idea recurring again and again in Roman Catholic theology that Mary is a "type of the church"; the parallel that is then drawn in Roman theology between the sinless Mary who mediates all grace and the infallible church which mediates all grace is also contradicted by the thesis. And when K  ng calls Scripture the "primary norm" and the "primary source" of theology (p. 118), then this contradicts the definition — normative for Roman Catholic theology — given in the encyclical *Humani generis* (1950), according to which the magisterial office of the church "is to be the nearest and universal norm of truth for every theologian" [*cuilibet theologo proxima et universalis veritatis norma esse debet*]. K  ng does indeed declare that the question of the magisterial office of the church and of the pope must "not be taken lightly" (p. 126), but doesn't this judgment apply to K  ng himself when, in this context, he evades with a few well-formulated lines the crucial question about the supreme norm of theology? It is encouraging that in contemporary Roman Catholic theology persons like K  ng are allowed a hearing. We must however caution against placing an equal sign between contributions of individual Roman Catholic theologians and this theology itself.

Yet the conclusions at which K  ng arrives cannot be attributed exclusively to the method he employs of by-passing as far as possible all those declarations and doctrinal statements in the Roman tradition which could have a disturbing effect on his own argumentation and the result of the comparison. For there is actually a limited degree of affinity between Karl Barth's teaching and Roman Catholic theology. For Luther, justification was the central and all-decisive question — which it is *not* for Karl Barth (cf. K  ng, p. 25 ff.). In Barth, christology is "foundation, kernel and key" (p. 39). It occupies the same position

in K  ng and several other representatives of a new, christocentrically oriented Roman theology. It must not be overlooked however that it is precisely this christology — determinative for the whole of dogmatics — which has been severely criticized by Lutheran theology (Werner Elert and Gustaf Wingren, e.g.). This systematic critique was directed primarily against Barth, to be sure, but it applies as such also to the entire Roman Catholic christology and indeed independently of whether christology is given a central place within dogmatics or not. The thing which Barth and Roman Catholic theology have in common and which connects the two is the presupposition — alien to Luther — of an ontological antithesis between God and man; the incarnation must then become, of necessity, a problem. Since Barth and Roman theology here proceed from the same presupposition, the difference between the two is limited, significantly, only to a variation in accentuation. Barth emphasizes, as K  ng declares, that "God becomes man" while Roman Catholic teaching is that "God becomes *man*" (pp. 44 f., 267 f.). It is therefore by no means coincidental when the theology which Barth has developed appears to K  ng not only as the "highest development of what is Protestant" but also as the "closest approach to what is Catholic" (p. 15).

In modern Roman Catholic theology there is a noticeable tendency to view Luther and the Lutheran Reformation not on the basis of the primary sources but through the spectacles of Karl Barth. What can very easily result however is that the *actual* boundaries dividing the Protestant and the Roman Catholic positions from one another become blurred and are no longer clearly visible. Behind Luther's teaching on justification by faith, which forms the center of his theology, there is also a christology. Yet it is of a completely different nature and structure than that which one finds in Karl Barth. If K  ng had selected — instead of Barth — Luther as his point of comparison, for whom the question of justification that is treated is really the *main* issue, he would have arrived at a different conclusion. Then his comparison of the Evangelical and the Roman Catholic positions would have attained that depth of thought which no longer conceals the theological antitheses but allows them to come to light in their elemental power.

Hans K  ng's work does not bring a discussion to a close; it rather compels us to

turn to it anew with renewed earnestness. This is the particular merit of his book, which polemicalizes not to be polemicalizing but for the sake of the matter under discussion. Protestant theology is therefore called upon to continue this discussion with the same inner freedom, for in this discussion the parties are concerned about "holding up to one another the mirror of the gospel of Jesus Christ" (p. 16).

PER ERIK PERSSON

Social Consequences of the Christian Faith

RELIGION IN CRISIS AND CUSTOM. By Anton T. Boisen. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1945. xv and 271 pages. \$4.00.

THE SOCIAL THOUGHT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES. By Edward Duff, S.J. New York: Association Press, 1956. xii and 339 pages. \$7.50.

CATHOLIC SOCIAL THOUGHT. By Melvin J. Williams. New York: Ronald Press, 1950. xv and 567 pages.

HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY, 1650-1950. By James Hastings Nichols. New York: Ronald Press, 1956. vi and 493 pages. \$ 5.00.

Here are four volumes with a central concern for the social consequences of the Christian faith in the contemporary world. They present a revealing juxtaposition of Catholic and Protestant thinking on this complex and crucial problem.

During the 1930's and 1940's ANTON BOISEN, American hospital chaplain and leader in the movement for clinical training for pastors, made a significant and original contribution to the study of the psychology of religion. His earlier book (1936), *The Exploration of the Inner World*, broke new ground in pointing out the similarity between dramatic religious experiences and certain kinds of mental breakdowns. Comparing the stories of George Fox and John Bunyan with those of patients in mental hospitals, he concluded that they represented similar drastic crises with radically differing results.

In *Religion in Crisis and Custom*, first published in 1945, Boisen studies and emphasizes the role of crisis in the life of religious groups.

Thus with the help of specific sociological studies he applies his psychological insight to the sociology of religion. His interest centers in American Protestants. He concludes that "crisis experiences tend to make or break" religious groups. On the basis of studies of the period of the Depression and World War II, together with hasty dips into history, he reaches the conclusion that "in time of economic distress the reaction is likely to be of the benign type. Large numbers of people react in accordance with the Christian principles in which they were reared." But in time of war "the prevailing reaction is of the malignant type." Boisen asks tough questions and thinks creatively but his answers are too sweeping to carry conviction, though no one would doubt that crises tend to make or to break.

Author Boisen has a bone to pick with theologians. He presents evidence for his claim that they do not adequately listen to the scientific world, particularly the sciences of the psychology and sociology of religion. Thus he feels that theologizing takes place without sufficient scientific research and without making use of the researches that are available. As our other three books (listed above) will testify, Boisen's point is a good one. Unfortunately, the force of his complaint is weakened by the watery kind of theology which he himself presents and by the exalted role he attributes to science in determining religious truth.

The Social Thought of the World Council of Churches is written by EDWARD DUFF, S.J., editor of the American Jesuit social research journal, *Social Order*. It is a timely and important contribution to ecumenical discussion. Father Duff has studied thoroughly the documents related to his subject, has made himself familiar with the procedures and personalities of the ecumenical movement, and brings to his task both a mature, scholarly mind and a close acquaintance with modern social history.

With considerable care the author first outlines the history of the World Council of Churches and describes the complex situation in respect to the nature and authority of the council. Then about seventy pages delineate the social philosophy of the council and another one hundred and thirty pages set forth social policy as it has been enunciated at Amsterdam and Evanston and discussions surrounding these Assemblies on such issues as capitalism, communism, nuclear warfare,

Christian political parties, the role of the state, international affairs, race relations, etc. Father Duff concludes with a sympathetically critical summary-evaluation.

Almost fatal to any consensus on social issues within the World Council, the author makes clear, is the division of its constituency into two conflicting theological viewpoints. At Amsterdam these were designated as Catholic and Protestant, but for social discussions Father Duff borrows J. H. Oldham's distinction of an "ethic of ends" and an "ethic of inspiration." The former relies heavily on the idea of natural law and, according to the author, finds its support from English-speaking churchmen with their political traditions of natural law. The second viewpoint Father Duff cannot really understand and falters in describing. He takes Karl Barth as the major example but when he describes the position it sounds more like Pietism. (This may explain his surprise that Moral Re-Armament does not receive acclaim in the Council's reports on social influence.) Actually he has tried to lump several significant ethical positions together, though at one place he does describe Nygren in opposition to Barth and recognizes a median position based on "the biblical doctrine of the Orders of Creation." Unfortunately, Luther enters Duff's analysis only by way of Troeltsch's interpretation.

Father Duff accurately points to one other major weakness of ecumenical social thinking. Theologians too readily develop their social teachings in a vacuum with a minimum of reference to the complex mass of facts which must enter into an accurate analysis of major contemporary social problems. As he indicates, "the theologian must collaborate with experts" in other fields of study, but in the World Council that "partnership has not been achieved" as yet. Here he touches upon a major procedural objective for the council's future. It is a need similar to the one Boisen's volume voices.

When one turns from Protestant to Catholic social thought he finds himself in a body of material that is both more unified and more specific — always stemming from some idea of natural law and usually willing to make application to specific social problems. In *Catholic Social Thought*, MELVIN WILLIAMS, a sociology professor at Florida State University, has made a broad survey of recent Catholic writings (up to 1942) dealing with social problems. Like Catholic Duff's handling of the non-Roman World Council, this Meth-

odist's treatment of Catholic thought is fair and balanced.

Author Williams' central interest in this comprehensive volume is Catholic sociology, but he ranges over broad fields from Maritain's philosophy to Father Flanagan's Boys' Town. His book is valuable as a reference work and summary of the vast writings of Catholic scholars since the middle of the nineteenth century as these bear upon contemporary social problems. The emphasis is upon English-language scholarship, though by no means exclusively. Major sections deal with "Catholic Contributions to Sociological Theory," "Cultural and Historical Aspects of Contemporary Catholic Social Theory," "Sociological Trends in Contemporary Catholic Economic, Political, and Legal Thought," and "Some Catholic Applications of Sociological Theory to the Study of Social Groups and Social Problems."

Again in this volume the reviewer finds the same important message for Protestant theology and ecumenical discussion. Contrasted with priests, Protestant theologians have failed to make themselves specialists in the many areas of social studies and action. More important, Protestant laymen who are specialists in these areas have not sought to relate theology to their fields of competence.

However, *Catholic Social Thought*, being a summary of scholarly ideas, cannot indicate the relationship of Roman Catholicism to our society. Indeed, of itself it could be misleading. Its excursions into history are sketchy. The ideas of Thomas Aquinas never come through clearly. Papal documents are excluded from direct attention. Above all, the role of the Roman church itself as an influential institution is never viewed face-on. The reader is seldom told about a given scholar's relation to the church; several non-Roman thinkers receive discussion — Berdyaev and Maurice, for example. One reads much more about individual rights than about the authority of the church. Williams tends to credit Catholic sociologists with more of a "scientific attitude" than that of most non-Catholics, since the Catholic admits that his sociology is "colored by a philosophy" while the non-Catholic usually refuses to admit his presuppositions and biases. Yet this ignores the authoritarian role of hierarchy and institution in determining not only underlying philosophy but also many specific sociological consequences.

Context for both the Duff and the Williams books is provided in JAMES HASTINGS NICHOLS'

History of Christianity, 1650-1950. This is a textbook. Concise, factual, incisive, it is the best text in English for the modern period of church history. An excellent, insightful opening chapter paints the overall picture with main features clearly outlined. Eastern Orthodoxy and the younger churches receive proportionate treatment. Theological trends are traced. However, the development of continental Lutheranism is described rather unevenly. The index is quite limited in usefulness.

Nichols, who is a University of Chicago professor and author of *Democracy and the Churches*, believes that Anglo-American Puritanism has had more success than any other form of Christianity in shaping modern society and that democracy is in part a praiseworthy fruit of that effort. On the other hand he views the Roman church as basically and often bitterly hostile to modern culture and democracy. He pictures the Catholic hierarchy as both potent and ambitious in modern political life. By contrast Protestantism appears chaotic and socially ineffective in the modern world of massive institutions and vast power blocs.

In this situation one turns hopefully to the groundswell of ecumenicity, noting, as does Nichols, a widespread desire within the ecumenical movement "for a more direct theonomous relation between Christian faith and political, economic, and cultural practice than was provided by the Evangelical appeal to the 'moral law.'"

Surely a two-fold strategy is needed in seeking to transcend the individualistic Protestantism of the past two centuries by developing more direct theonomous relationships between Christian faith and common life. On the one hand there is immediate need to relate Protestant theology to particular fields of social study and action, both through theologians who become specialists in these fields and through laymen specialists who can relate theology to their fields. Here Protestants can learn much from Roman Catholicism. On the other hand there is need to develop a sense of Christian community which will provide direct and sturdy support for the Christian as he moves within modern society. At this point the Roman example can only serve to warn the ecumenical movement to remember that God's judgment always falls upon every human institution, including church institutions.

Obviously the two prongs of this strategy are but expressions of those two movements within

twentieth century ecumenicity, namely, Life and Work and Faith and Order. There is a mutual dependence in the two questions: "What is the Christian's role in society?" and "What is the church?"

FREDERICK K. WENTZ

Protestantism and Democracy

THE FOUNDATION OF AMERICAN FREEDOM. By A. Mervyn Davies. New York & Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1955. 253 pp., \$3.50.

THE COURSE OF AMERICAN DEMOCRATIC THOUGHT. By Ralph Henry Gabriel. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 2nd edition, 1956. 508 pp., \$6.00.

GERMAN PROTESTANTS FACE THE SOCIAL QUESTION. Vol. I: *The Conservative Phase, 1815-1871.* Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1954. 434 pp.

Lately it has been more than once established that Lutheran theology has not yet come to terms with the problems of democratic society. This is a not malicious reproach, it merely states a fact which can be historically documented. It is all the more urgent then that we give our attention to the reasons behind this fact. This is the purpose of this review of these three quite dissimilar books.

A. MERVYN DAVIES is a journalist and a historian. He is writing to correct a misunderstanding, widely held in the United States, of Protestant faith in the Calvinistic tradition. In a vein similar to that of Ralph Barton Perry (see his *Puritanism and Democracy*, 1944), Davies seeks to show that Calvinism's "political theology" (the sovereignty of God, the constitutional state regarded as "commonwealth," the limitation of power because of sin, the limitation of freedom by law, etc.) was not dissipated by the Enlightenment and the "this-worldly" faith of the 19th century but constitutes up to the present day the basis and substance of the democratic hope for a free and just life in community. In contrast to Perry, his development is historical not systematic, thus giving valuable glimpses into Calvin's Geneva plans for a system in which church and state lived together in ordered harmony under the sovereign will of God; then of the Scottish,

English, Dutch and French reformations, up to the establishment of Puritanism on a self-sufficient social basis in England and New England.

Davies emphasizes repeatedly that the "dark dogmas" of Calvinism — e.g., the doctrine of predestination — by no means suspended human responsibility and activity; instead they demanded precisely this. It is man's voluntary and resolute commitment to God which first makes freedom in the modern sense possible (i.e., "spiritual independence," "freedom under law," and "economic liberty," p. 74 f.); and the theocratic impulse, which is particularly evident in Calvin, Cromwell and the New England Puritan fathers, laid the foundation for the democratic conviction that laws and not inherited privileges should have the ruling hand, a constitution and not men. The parliamentary republic minus its religious roots in Calvinistic thought would hardly have been so convincing and durable. The development of France and Germany (p. 131 ff.) make this evident: in France a "totalitarian liberalism" in the French revolution brought about the schism between the state and man which still prevails today; in Germany Luther's preference for absolutist rule by the territorial princes had as its end result Bismarck's *Realpolitik* and Nazi and Marxist religion (p. 138).

The political substance of Calvinism was able to find expression in a valid political form only with the founding of the United States. After New England theocracy, in all its aristocracy and bigotry, had laid the foundations for a democratic constitutional state, and after Jonathan Edwards had fused the Arminian heritage with revivalistic American piety (p. 218), the "unfinished Puritan revolution" was completed in the establishing of the United States, thus mediating to the democratic ethos up to the present day certain principles about human morality, political community, order in the international realm, and social justice (p. 238 ff.). In America the Reformation faith operated as a dynamic political power.

It is with a feeling of deep appreciation that one reads this extremely vivid and objective — and in my opinion essentially correct — account of political Calvinism. In particular the intermediate place given to Cromwell's regime which Davies calls a "theocratic democracy" (p. 156) and the basic conservatism of the American Revolution (p. 223 ff.) will always give the Continental theologian much cause

for reflection. Of course at times the purpose of the book — an apology of Calvinism for the American reader — conditions too strongly the use to which the material is put. The democratic bearing of Americans has to be sure inherited certain bases from Puritanism, and it would be impossible to imagine it without these; but their "democratic faith" has been conditioned by such diverse factors, particularly in the 19th and 20th centuries, that the value of a treatment as pointed as this one must not be overestimated. One could hardly expect anything more from the limited scope of this journalistic presentation. It should be read *alongside* the numerous other histories of Anglo-American democracy.

An extremely thorough and a very good supplement to Davies' book is the one by RALPH HENRY GABRIEL. That his history of American democratic thought in the 19th and 20th centuries could be reprinted — even though with many alterations — a decade and a half after the first edition is a guarantee of its quality. The author is a historian, and the tracing of the history of his subject as reflected in the history of theology, which is our concern here, is therefore only one of his interests. It is all the more instructive then that he does indeed establish at the beginning of the epoch he describes the strong Calvinistic impulse in America, at the same time however calling attention to the displacement of this heritage in the course of an age that had been enlightened and was marked by individualism, humanitarianism and perfectionism. In this time "freedom under God" becomes "the freedom of the individual from obligations," the hope for the establishment of the kingdom of God in America becomes the hope for a democratic America and a democratic world, and the trust in progressive sanctification becomes humanitarian faith in the perfectibility of man (p. 32 f.).

Up to the beginning of the 19th century the democratic faith and the Christian faith had stood in a harmonious, complementary relationship; but now, in the period under discussion, democracy's secularized excrescences begin to assume a self-sufficient character and to turn upon the Christian heritage. The uninhibited idolatry of the strictly temporal and this-worldly among the Unitarians and the Transcendentalists — Emerson, Thoreau, Whitman — soon encounters Melville's radical critique of culture. The gospel of an unlimited growth of America because of its wealth, its boundlessness and its freedom of

the individual is dampened shortly by the socialistic ideas of Henry George, Walter Rauschenbusch and George Herron. And American faith in the sovereignty of laws rather than men hardens into a bigoted legalism. This secularization of democratic faith found perhaps its purest philosophical expression in the pragmatism of William James and John Dewey.

With this faith in a progressing American democracy the Americans entered the first world war. Since that time — and the author has taken these things into account even more so in the second edition than in the first — democratic faith has had to make its way in an “unstable and strife-plagued world” (p. 404). Which it has done: Jefferson has retained his significance as the symbol of freedom alongside Lincoln, the symbol of justice for all (pp. 422 ff. and 445 ff.); Greek thinking on natural law and biblical faith in judgment and new creation can exist alongside one another and over against the increasing impact of totalitarian systems (p. 460 ff.).

Gabriel shows how profoundly the Christian heritage could be fused with its secularized offshoots. After taking cognizance of this history of democratic thought, one will not extol the United States as the “most Christian land on the face of the earth”; but one recognizes what political shaping power was inherent in America's Calvinistic foundations.

Gabriel says that Pietism was the politically effective element in Lutheranism (p. 30). In his volume in the series “International Studies of the Committee on International Relations,” the Roman Catholic historian WILLIAM O. SHANAHAN gives a convincing statement, informed by careful work on the primary sources, of how Pietism shaped the political life of Germany in the 19th century. If the political ethos of Americans moved in the direction of confusing the kingdom of God with a consummate democracy, then that of Germans remained hopelessly imprisoned in ideas of class and monarchy.

The German revival movement was able to prevent the Reformation faith from dissipating into a shallow moralism, it was capable of directing its vital impulses into worldly channels; but it was unable to check the secularization of the German political will. The social mission efforts in the church (Sieveking, Fliedner, Wichern, Huber, etc.) aimed at saving or restoring the existing society, with its classes and monarchy, while the social reformers supported, willingly or unwillingly, the con-

servative confessionality of the church and found in Hengstenberg, the Gerlach brothers and Stahl resolute pioneers in the fight against a democratic ordering of society. Little wonder then that the forces concerned about revolutionary social change gathered outside the church and against the church. The early history of the socialist movement in Germany (cf. p. 156 ff.) shows that

Religion became separated from proletarian life, for the German Protestants in entrusting their public fortune to conservatism had backed a movement standing for all things an awakened working class would find repugnant. (p. 182)

It seems only logical then that the organization of the socialist party took place under an anti-Christian banner or least one Christian only in a secondary sense. This party became the “visible church of a secular religion” (p. 356). And the social-welfare approach employed by Wichern and his friends in the revival movement with an eye to again winning over a de-christianized people — re-christianization through works of Christian love and through Christian education — this approach lost its stay when Bismark's *Realpolitik* was victorious.

The Wittenberg *Kirchentag* in 1848 (see p. 202 ff.) was supposed to usher in a new epoch in the social ethos of German Protestants. There began to be a growing awareness of the social revolution in an industrial age, which should have called forth a positive answer to the democratic leveling process and to the social transformation. Instead the church was content with “symptom therapy” and established the Inner Mission. The creative answer which the time called for was not forthcoming (apart from exceptions such as G. Werner, W. von Ketteler and V. A. Huber). The conservative forces set their faces against attempts to make the church democratic and against a democratic social ethos until liberal forces (around the turn of the century) and the forced separation of church and state, after 1918, demanded new ways and new thought.

This latter period is to be treated in a second volume. We can look forward to it with suspense, for a history as thorough as this of the socio-political failure in German Lutheranism is something we need for our present reflection in this sphere. Ours are problems which simply could not have arisen in American democracy, which lives from Calvinistic sources. There a gradual secularization and

a gradual exhausting of the Protestant heritage took place; here society was split into a "Christian" half and a "democratic" half. Even today this diversity impedes ecumenical understanding between the two continents which owe substantial impulses in thought to the Reformation.

WOLF-DIETER MARSCH

The Church in World Perspective

THE UNFINISHED TASK. By Stephen Neill. London: Edinburgh House Press & Lutterworth Press, 1957. 12s. 6d.

ALTE BRIEFE AUS INDIEN. Unveröffentlichte Briefe von Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg, 1706-1719. Edited by Arno Lehmann. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1957. 552 pp., DM 28.00.

CHRISTLICHE VERKÜNDIGUNG IM KOMMUNISTISCHEN CHINA. By Barnabas. Munich: Christian Kaiser Verlag, 1951.

KIRCHEN IM NEUEN ASIEN. By Walter Freytag. Stuttgart: Evangelischer Missionsverlag, 1958. 64 pp., DM 2.40.

JAHRBUCH EVANGELISCHER MISSION, 1957. Edited by Jan Hermelink. Hamburg: Verlag der deutschen Evangelischen Missionshilfe, 1957. 128 pp., DM 2.00.

THE STUDY OF MISSIONS IN THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION, Vol. II. By Olav Guttorm Myklebust. Oslo: Forlaget Land og Kirke, for the Egede Institute, 1957. 413 pp.

DIE EVANGELISCHEN CHRISTEN SPANIENS. By Jacques Delpech. Zollikon/Zürich: Evangelischer Verlag, 1956. 96 pp., Sw. Fr. 4.30.

"We ought to live far more in the context of a world perspective than we have done hitherto." That is one of the conclusions drawn by Walter Freytag after his journey to Asia in 1956-1957 (p. 62), and is at the same time an appropriate title for a review of some books each of which is capable in its own way of broadening and deepening the Christian's world perspective.

Bishop STEPHEN NEILL, who is equally familiar with the ecumenical world, mission work and younger churches, provides the

theological and missionary foundation for such a view of the world. It is a good thing really to know one's way about in this world of ours which has grown so small. It is no less important to comprehend the ecumenical, world-wide dimension of the church. Both are inadequate, however, if the missionary connection between the two poles — as expressed in the title *The Unfinished Task* — is not restored. There are also other attempts being made today "to determine the nature of the Church in relation to its missionary calling" (p. 32), but there is scarcely one which has such compelling arguments and takes in so much territory. From the narrower circle of questions — the winning of the younger generation, the church in the state, society and civilization, particularly in the West — the book leads on to the wider circle of the "younger churches" with their "dynamic witness" in the midst of the newly resurgent religions. Extremely pertinent questions of the world-wide church and its mission are often treated in a most original manner: the church as a "world-wide diaspora"; the complementing of the full-time profession of the ministry with lay ministries; the church and the welfare state; the missionary in the "younger church"; the conversion of the churches to unity, in place of an "etiolated ecumenism," etc. Many unpleasant truths are also voiced quite openly. Anyone looking for material with which to assert his own confessionalism will be disappointed and often shocked by this book. But the shock is a healthy one, for it lifts one's eyes beyond the "miasma of dejection" to the cross itself, the only place where our individual and collective failures can be overcome.

More and better information on the world-wide church — according to Bishop Neill this is a basic prerequisite for the conversion of the church to a sorely needed missionary activity. To express it more precisely, perhaps: more and better use of the opportunities for information which are in fact available — if only we would use them! That applies to start with to the history of mission work. The year 1956, which marked the 250th anniversary of the Protestant "mother mission" in Tranquebar, brought with it by means of numerous publications a new and highly instructive clarification of this creative early period of the missionary initiative of the Protestant church. The extensive collection of Ziegenbalg letters which ARNO LEHMANN has expertly extracted from the treasures of

the Halle archives is a latecomer, but a welcome one. Here there is an outcrop of primitive rock, as it were, in the area of the history of missions. In the compressed space of barely a decade and a half we experience almost at first hand the birth and growth, weakness and greatness of a mission in which God's *kairos* and a missionary initiative bearing in many respects the stamp of genius prevail against almost unimaginable odds. Without any retouching or embellishment there emerges the picture of a growing mission church in its *Sitz im Leben*, together with incidental insights into missionary method, from which even after 250 years we can still learn a great deal, particularly as good indexes make them more easily accessible. At the same time the South Indian milieu takes on life in such colorfulness and abundance that these letters offer a rich source of information for the history of civilization.

Whereas in this book one looks in upon the hopeful beginnings of mission work, in the next one a former missionary in China, writing under the pseudonym of BARNABAS, analyzes the melancholy end of a missionary epoch. The book is already a few years old now, and in the meantime much new information has come to light on the situation of Christianity in China, most recently from Walter Freytag's report, to which we shall shortly return. But as far as the inner connections between the Chinese revolution and its effects on the proclamation of the Christian message are concerned, this analysis is still hardly to be equalled. To be sure, anyone looking for convenient formulas or dramatic accounts of martyrdoms will not get his money's worth. The complexity of the situation is depicted as it really is. What happened in China was not simply the triumph of a materialistic atheism pure and simple which now seeks to extirpate all religion and against which the only course is resistance to the death. It is rather a new, dynamically revolutionary ordering of society which advances a claim to power which is both ideological and political. At first Chinese Christianity was simply overwhelmed by this claim, and it must see in this a judgment on much in traditional Christianity which was at bottom only the "rational self-protection of comfortable conservative circles" (p. 83). The important question is whether and how Chinese Christianity will find its way to an "active attempt to understand the social and historical facts in the light of the truth in

Christ" (p. 88), and to the "abundant and fearless love of those whose inner barrenness is filled by God's grace" (p. 71)—transcending all mere "apologetic theology" of a liberal, apocalyptic or spiritualistic nature.

That the church in China is in fact embarked upon this path and thus will perhaps one day be able to render vicarious service to the world-wide church might be regarded as one of the most significant conclusions of WALTER FREYTAG'S report on Asia. It confirms much that Barnabas was able to express only as a hope; that, e.g., on the one hand one hardly ever encounters in China "the tendency to withdraw into a private religious world," but that on the other hand there is no sign that anyone is providing "a theological foundation and theological support for the present [political] system" (p. 49), and that in the midst of all "Chinese Christianity is growing" (p. 50). Many questions concerning its future still remain open. Both the former missionary in China and western observer of today make it clear in any case, that the Christians of the West are not called upon to be judges; their place must be not to leave the Chinese Christians in isolation, at the same time refraining from trying to lay down the path they should follow.

The same applies *mutatis mutandis* to our relationship to Christians in other Asian countries. Freytag depicts their situation (in New Guinea, Indonesia and India) with an economy of detail, but every stroke of his pen gives evidence of extremely precise knowledge and penetrating understanding. He finds the connecting link between all these areas in the fact that these churches are in the process of finding their own way. This places them squarely in the middle of the political and social reconstruction of their countries. At the same time, they are developing a certain aloofness from their environment which shows unequivocally that they are really churches and not, say, mere helpless satellites of a political and social revolution: they repudiate their non-Christian religious past, and they demonstrate their kinship with the Christian element in western civilization which today—admittedly in a degenerate secularized form—is flooding Asia. Thus they stand in a peculiar *no man's land* and precisely by doing so reveal "the change that has taken place in Asia right down to the deepest level of consciousness" and "the traces of the path which God

is taking with Asia today" (p. 15). It is an inestimable merit of Freytag's concise and yet so graphic report that we can observe this path and inwardly travel along it; it is only to be hoped that the report will arouse the wide response it deserves.

One might well ask, "What does all this mean for the Christian mission?" Freytag does not delve very deep into this since he is concerned primarily with the situation of the Asian churches. But it is of course immediately apparent that the changes in the Asian and, in another way, also in the African scene demand nothing less than a "revision of our missionary methods," as Hanns Lilje explains these in the *Jahrbuch Evangelischer Mission 1957*. The yearbook again proves itself to be a source of diverse and reliable information. H. Renkewitz describes the "Missionary Responsibility of the Church," H. Neumeyer his "Encounter with Younger Churches," G. Jasper reports on the "Mission to Israel" and J. Hermelink on the state of German mission work. Bishop Lilje's contribution, however, deserves to be given special prominence; for it is extremely refreshing that here it is precisely a man belonging to the "old" church who shows at what points we, in the midst of the collapse of colonialism and in face of an overwhelming nationalism, nevertheless must and can help the younger churches: by sending out experienced specialists, by deepening our understanding of church and confession, and by taking seriously the confrontation with the world's religions. All this of course presupposes that we "are in earnest" and that as a church we make the mission cause our own — not least by means of financial sacrifice. As he says in discussing the matter of financial support and the continental tendency to dismiss American large-scale giving as mere activism, our own laziness in this respect is no indication of a greater degree of piety! (p. 37).

If we are to "revise our picture of the mission task and our mission obligation and bring it up to date" (p. 38), then the way in which the Christian mission is represented in the training of theological students is one of the strategic points at which a transformation must come about. This is also a question which by no means concerns only the missions specialists but the churches themselves, in which, at any rate on the continent of Europe — apart from praiseworthy exceptions — there is not even serious

consideration of whether quite different account should be taken of mission subjects and comparative religion in theological education. No one can say that the problem as such has not yet been clarified and described with a sufficient degree of comprehensiveness and that the time is therefore not yet ripe for decision. The Norwegian missions specialist O. G. MYKLEBUST, with exemplary meticulousness and a masterly command of an almost incalculable abundance of material, has carried out this project in such a way that now the material from the beginnings until 1910 (Vol. I, published in 1955) and from 1910 up to today (Vol. II) has been made fully accessible. For the Lutheran church in particular there is much food for thought here; for, as Myklebust, himself a Lutheran, points out, it is the Lutherans who alongside the Anglicans have made the smallest contribution to the establishment and cultivation of the missionary idea in theological education, though of course the merits of the Lutheran missions specialists, from Graul to J. Richter, should not be minimized (p. 318). Myklebust is not afraid to speak plainly: "Orthodoxy alone is no guarantee that the world perspective of the New Testament shall receive the attention it is due" (p. 316). This and other statements should remain fixed in our conscience, even if one cannot in all fairness expect that everyone will be capable of fully appreciating Myklebust's magnum opus as the pioneering feat of scholarship which it represents in this field. In any case, here too is an appeal to those responsible for theological education which cannot be ignored and which confronts the churches with the question of whether they are prepared to take the world perspective of faith seriously at a specific concrete point.

In conclusion, the book by J. DELPECH can remind us that this world perspective has another facet in addition to the mission aspect, a facet which must also come into its own, namely, solidarity within the church itself, the suffering with those members who suffer, regardless of boundaries. Since the Reformation the history of the Protestant church has been accompanied by the discordancies which have resulted from the frequent oppression of its members in Roman Catholic countries. One can read in Ziegenbalg's letters how Roman zeal against the "heretics" grew to be a heavy affliction even in distant South India. Apart from certain South American countries, Spain might be

regarded as that area in which the Roman claim is advanced most ruthlessly today, and it would be falsely considerate to remain silent on this point. Here also, to be sure, it is necessary to get really first-hand information. Delpach's book is without a doubt the best help in this direction which is available at the present time. He knows the situation from long years of personal experience, and the same is true of the (unnamed, but well-known) German translator. A picture is given of the developments up to 1955. Every appeal to the emotions is scrupulously avoided. Purely documentary evidence, which has been conscientiously checked, is presented. The conclusion is clear: In Spain there has been in progress for a long time a "cold persecution" of Protestantism, which is all the more disquieting when one is accustomed to look at the cause of the whole church of Christ in a world-wide perspective. There is indeed no lack of evidence in the world that the "gates of hell" threaten to prevail against the little flock of Christ, no matter whether it is Roman or non-Roman. In view of such threats, how can the oppression of Christians of another conviction by fellow-Christians still be justified today? The answer lies with Rome. We can do no more than to seek, for our part and in our area of work, to prevent the aggravation of tensions of this kind, and to make special mention of our Spanish brethren in faith when we intercede for the world-wide church of Christ.

HANS-WERNER GENSICHEN

ES BEGANN IN TRANQUEBAR. *Die Geschichte der ersten evangelischen Kirche in Indien.* By Arno Lehmann. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1955. 345 pp. [English edition: IT BEGAN AT TRANQUEBAR. Madras: The Christian Literature Society, 1956. 185 pp., Rs. 2.12.]

GOTTES VOLK IN VIELEN LÄNDERN. *Ein missionarisches Lesebuch.* By Arno Lehmann. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1955. 331 pp.

DIE KUNST DER JUNGEN KIRCHEN. By Arno Lehmann. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1955. 256 pp.

The University of Halle has great traditions in Protestant missiology. These traditions are carried on in a very remarkable fashion by the impressive and fascinating books

produced by Professor ARNO LEHMANN. In recent years he has written and edited a great number of important volumes which testify to tremendous energy and discriminating scholarship.

The Tranquebar jubilee in 1956 saw the publication of his timely historical study of the Danish-Halle mission of 1706 under the title, *Es begann in Tranquebar* (English edition, *It Began at Tranquebar*). Professor Lehmann has discovered and utilized new and important historical archive materials. As a former missionary in South India he knows the country, its people and its noble culture. He combines solid and painstaking research with a gift for arresting and highly interesting literary presentation. For a long time this beautiful book is likely to remain the history of early Lutheran missions in India.

Under the title *Gottes Volk in vielen Ländern, ein missionarisches Lesebuch*, Professor Lehmann has arranged a collection of brief extracts from recent studies of the churches in Asia and Africa. It is a rich volume of 330 pages, with fifty-five brief chapters. The author has an admirable orientation in missionary literature, and this book should prove to be of outstanding value for teaching missions.

Many readers of Professor Lehmann's *Die Kunst der Jungen Kirchen* will be so fascinated by the illustrations that perhaps they will forget to study the fifty-five page introduction. If so, they miss something. As far as I can see we have in this introduction the most important non-Roman contribution, so far, towards a systematic interpretation of the art in the churches in Asia, Africa, Indonesia and Oceania. Professor Lehmann can refer to Roman Catholic scholars in this field such as Sepp Schüller and Protestants such as D. J. Fleming, and a great number of other studies in this field. With Prof. Lehmann's own contribution we now have a study of extraordinary value and interest. He points to the fundamentally important dimension of the artistic expression of the Christian faith in the younger churches. The book is a gold mine of beauty where one moves from discovery to new discovery. In a way, the simpler and less sophisticated works of art, particularly from Africa and Indonesia, have the greatest appeal. The author presents a large collection of the Indian painter A. D. Thomas. They are very interesting and some of them exquisite; perhaps there are too many of them in this volume. Paint-

ings, architecture, liturgical art—these are some of the fields represented among the 178 reproductions in the volume. There is no doubt in my mind that this book will become one of the lasting contributions of twentieth-century Protestant missiologists.

In this book, as in his other writings, Professor Lehmann, while deeply faithful to his Lutheran heritage, has the ecumenical concern and task on his heart. The missions professor in Halle has a wide horizon.

BENGT SUNDKLER

Between Theology and Philosophy

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE CHURCH FATHERS. *Volume I: Faith, Trinity, Incarnation.* By Harry Austryn Wolfson. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1956. xxviii and 635 pages, \$10.00.

SPECULATION IN PRE-CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY. By Richard Kroner. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1956. 251 pages, \$5.75.

EARLY MEDIEVAL THEOLOGY (*The Library of Christian Classics, Vol. IX*). Edited by George E. McCracken and Allen Cabaniss. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1957. 430 pp., \$5.00.

In the first two volumes under review a Christian professor of philosophy of religion writes about non-Christian philosophers, and a Jewish professor of Hebrew literature and philosophy concerns himself with the Fathers of the Christian Church. Books of the first type are in no sense uncommon, not even when, as in the case of Kroner, the purpose is to examine "the history of philosophy from the Christian point of view" (p. 9). The appearance of WOLFSON's work, however, is an event of special significance. This was recognized at Harvard University, on whose faculty Prof. Wolfson serves, and the publication of Volume I of *The Philosophy of the Church Fathers* was appropriately celebrated. On that occasion, Professor George Williams compared Wolfson's work to George Foot Moore's "epochmaking two volumes on Judaism" (*Official Register of Harvard University* Vol. LIII, No. 19, p. 85). He emphasized, however, the uniqueness of Wolfson's study,

stating that the "*Philosophy of the Church Fathers* seems to have no direct spiritual ancestors or even cousins in the Jewish line of development!" (*ibid.*, p. 86). Williams calls attention to "three ways in which this work is unique." "First and foremost it is a work in which for the first time the whole of patristic thought has been analyzed and ordered as an epoch in the intellectual history of mankind. . . . The work is unique in its dispassionate objectivity. . . . And thirdly, *The Philosophy of the Church Fathers* is unique because this utter clarity of composition and purity of exposition is the work of a Jew" (*ibid.*, pp. 87-88).

It is unlikely that anyone will seek to detract from the high praise Williams bestows on this monumental work. But there need to be questions raised about the meaning of "objectivity" in Wolfson's work. That the writer is "dispassionate" and scrupulously aims for objectivity is clearly true. His stated purpose, however, together with his predilection for schematic treatment of the material, may occasionally seem to lead him to conclusions that are imposed on the Church Fathers and the New Testament writers. His purpose in the present volume is a continuation of the work begun in the two volumes on Philo, which were subtitled "Foundations of Religious Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam." "Philo," he writes,

has recast the principles of Jewish religion in the form of a philosophy and thereby produced also what may be called a Jewish version of Greek philosophy. . . . In the present work, we try to show how a similar conception among the Church Fathers with regard to the relation of certain teachings of Greek philosophy to the revealed truths of both the Jewish and the Christian Scriptures resulted similarly in a recasting of Christian beliefs in the form of a philosophy and thereby producing also a Christian version of Greek philosophy. (pp. v-vi)

It is his contention that in doing this the Church Fathers were to a considerable extent influenced by their predecessor, Philo, and that the process is already evident in the New Testament writings. This view is illustrated by his conclusion regarding the Fourth Gospel: "John took the system of Paul as his basis and upon it he superimposed the system of Philo" (p. 505). Or again, after comparing Pauline references to the preexistent Christ with Jewish references to the preexistent Wisdom and Messiah, he claims an equivalency of terms and then by substitution arrives at this paraphrase of Romans 1:4:

Jesus was declared to be the son of God on the day of his resurrection, when, in the prophetic words of the Psalmist, God addressed him as 'My Son,' and the reason why God addressed him as His son is the fact that throughout his lifetime the Holy Spirit dwelt in him and led him, for anyone who is led by the Holy Spirit is a son of God (p. 163).

Wolfson is certainly not alone in claiming to find Philonic influences in John and Jewish antecedents to Paul's teaching. But the determinative role claimed by Wolfson for these influences will undoubtedly be questioned by many readers.

The material of the present volume is organized under four main headings: "Faith and Reason"; "The Trinity, the Logos, and the Platonic Ideas"; "The Three Mysteries" (generation, Trinity and incarnation); and "The Anathematized." Chronologically, the volume covers the period from New Testament times to Augustine in the West and John of Damascus in the East.

Of the three main problems investigated — faith and reason, the Trinity, and the incarnation — it is only the first that Wolfson considers "a direct development, with some variations... of the problem as presented in Philo" (p. vii). But even here he is not so intent on discovering Philonic influences that he cannot recognize non-Philonic elements. For example, he shows the similarities between midrashic interpretation and Philo's allegorical method and discusses this in relation to non-literal interpretations of Old Testament texts in the New Testament; but he also points out that none of the four kinds of non-literal interpretations he distinguishes in the New Testament are of the Philonic philosophical kind even though the New Testament writers describe them with "Philonic terms" (p. 43). As would be expected, the influence of Philo on the Christian interpretation of Scripture is found most strongly in Clement of Alexandria and Origen.

The section on faith and reason is particularly crucial in that one would expect to find here what the author means by the *philosophy* of the Church Fathers as contrasted with their theology. Such a distinction, however, is not made. The term philosophy here applies more to the type of study made than to the material studied. Wolfson writes that he approaches the material as "a mere student of the history of philosophy in its impact upon religion and without going into purely theological problems..." (*Official Register of Harvard University*, Vol. LIII, No. 19, p. 97).

In the concluding paragraph of the *Church Fathers*, he notes that if he had "undertaken a study of the Christian doctrines of the Fathers rather than the philosophy behind these doctrines" (p. 607) additional material would have been included. This does not mean that he avoids doctrinal matters, but that in discussing the doctrinal development his purpose is to show how a "Christian version of Greek philosophy" was produced. This approach is illustrated in his discussion of the doctrine of the incarnation in the Fathers, to which he properly devotes a major portion of his time. The belief that the Logos became flesh, he points out, had no precedent in Philo. But he continues, "*Philosophically* the incarnate Logos of Christianity is analogous to the immanent Logos of Philo" (p. 365; emphasis added). The three stages of existence of the Logos in Philo's thought he finds also in Christian teaching regarding the Logos. "This analogy, we shall find, continues in the detailed descriptions of the relation of the immanent Logos to the world as found in Philo and of the incarnate Logos to the humanity of Jesus as found in Christianity" (p. 366).

By stressing analogies he is able to discuss at length and in detail the teachings of the Fathers without involving himself in doctrinal controversy as such. Indirectly, however, Wolfson does involve himself in doctrinal matters, and for two reasons. First, because he holds Greek philosophy as mediated through Philo not only to be a vehicle for the expression of Christian doctrine but also to be an important factor in the developing of the doctrine. Second, because of his convictions regarding the purpose of philosophical research. In describing his method, he writes in part as follows:

Words, in general, by the very limitation of their nature, conceal one's thought as much as they reveal it; and the uttered words of philosophers, at their best and fullest, are nothing but floating buoys which signal the presence of submerged unuttered thoughts. The purpose of historical research in philosophy, therefore, is to uncover these unuttered thoughts, to reconstruct the latent processes of reasoning that always lie behind uttered words, and to try to determine the true meaning of what is said by tracing back the story of how it came to be said, and why it is said in the manner in which it is said. (pp. vi-vii)

His work shows ample evidence of the kind of creative scholarship described. But this means that we have also Wolfson's attempt "to determine the true meaning" of what the

Church Fathers have said regarding the incarnation and the Trinity.

The richness of the book lies in this pursuit of *meanings*, supported by sound scholarship and mastery of a wide range of knowledge.

Wolfson's work on the Church Fathers is part of his continuing project dealing with the "Structure and Growth of Philosophic Systems from Plato to Spinoza." In the previously published volumes on *Philo*, he has indicated the over-all plan, in which Philo is the key figure. The new system of philosophy formulated by Philo is said to mark a "fundamental departure from pagan Greek philosophy" and to become the dominant influence on the philosophy of the next seventeen centuries, until challenged by Spinoza (*Philo*, Vol. II, p. 457). He characterizes ancient philosophy as that "which knew not scripture," and modern philosophy, beginning with Spinoza, by its attempts to "free itself from scripture." The intervening period is the period of medieval philosophy — the common philosophy of Judaism, Christianity and Islam (*ibid.*, p. 445).

There can be no question of the indebtedness of the Christian Church to Wolfson for this searching, carefully documented analysis of the writings of the Fathers. It merits equally careful study by specialists in Patristics, and only on the basis of such attention can its conclusions be properly challenged or defended.

Wolfson's claims regarding the influence of Philo are supported by KRONER. In the concluding chapter of *Speculation in Pre-Christian Philosophy* he states that "the effect of Philo's work upon the rise and content of Christian dogma and theology cannot be overrated. Indeed, without Philo there would be no Irenaeus, Athanasius, Gregory, and so on..." (p. 238).

This agreement about the role of Philo exemplifies a still larger area of agreement, namely, the importance of the relationship between Greek philosophy and Christianity. "It is ... a historical fact," writes Kroner, "that not only did Greek speculation approach the advent of the gospel in its own way but also Christian dogma and theology in turn were deeply influenced by Greek speculation and would never have arisen without its influence" (p. 11). The first half of this statement constitutes the theme of this first volume of a survey of the history of philosophy "from the Christian point of view."

Kroner does not maintain that the approach of Greek speculation to the advent of the gospel was a straight line development. Rather, there were high points and periods of decline. The pre-Socratic high point is marked by Heraclitus and Parmenides. The Atomists usher in a period of decline which culminates in the Sophists. With Socrates Greek speculation begins its rise to new heights, and reaches its consummation in Aristotle, "the archetype of Greek classical thought" (p. 185). Although Greek speculation never rose to such heights again, Kroner finds the closest approach to biblical revelation in the Stoics. This conclusion is based on the Stoic conception of God: he is "the sovereign legislator, administrator, and judge," and consequently is "closer to the Biblical Creator than was the god of Aristotle"; he is a god of love in the sense of charity and mercy; he is "endowed with foreknowledge and providence so that knowledge and power were given to him on a much wider scale than in Aristotle"; and, most important of all, "the Stoics called god ... 'pneuma'; or spirit" (pp. 230-231). Kroner views this final step of Greek thought toward the Christian gospel as being possible only through the deterioration of rational speculation. "This trend shows that the development of philosophical thought is not only a development from logically primitive to ever more refined and methodical thinking ... but also an approach to the ultimate truth, which cannot be grasped any more by speculation alone but needs the support of religious revelation" (p. 232).

Kroner's purpose is thus to describe the development of Greek philosophy as a preparation for the gospel. He assumes that philosophically Christianity is theistic, and the proximity of Greek thinkers to Christianity can thus be measured by the degree to which they were theists. The Stoics, who mark the closest approach to the gospel, are said to be more theistic than their predecessors (pp. 228-229). There is no attempt to "Christianize" any pre-Christian thinkers: "Greek speculation is not only pre-Christian; it is outright un-Christian. The very undertaking to discover the root of all things by means of human intuition and hypothesis is radically un-Biblical or even anti-Biblical" (p. 11). And yet he can say of Socrates: "Unless we assume that God inspired and commanded Socrates to prepare for the coming of his Son, on the level and in the language of Greek philosophy, Socrates demonstrated, by his per-

sonality and conduct, that the human mind has resources enabling it to approach, by its own effort, the truth revealed in the Bible" (p. 151). No matter which option is taken, this statement would seem to be at odds with the view that Greek philosophy is "radically un-Biblical or even anti-Biblical."

Although Kroner has a specific objective which is clearly stated, the book is not characterized by a sustained argument but by occasional applications of the theme of *preparation*. These applications sometimes take the form of analogies or simple comparisons, and on occasion appear to be forced attempts to inject the "Christianity point of view"; e.g., a comparison of Plato's depiction of Socrates with the Fourth Gospel's portrayal of Christ, or of Plato's ideal state with the Kingdom of God (pp. 153, 155). The work is somewhat marred by repetitions which occur mainly as a result of frequent comparisons. Aside from this, the volume provides a readable introduction to, or review of, Greek philosophy.

The volume *Early Medieval Theology* in the *Library of Christian Classics* shows clearly the problems confronted by the editors in attempting to combine a topical and chronological arrangement, and at the same time separate for special treatment the major figures in the history of Christian thought. *Early Medieval Theology* includes selections from the fifth to the twelfth century. The earliest writer represented is Vincent of Lerins and the latest, Rupert of Deutz. The coverage of this period is restricted, however, by other volumes in the series which overlap these centuries. Eastern writers are, appropriately enough, dealt with in earlier volumes, so this work is limited to western thought. The monastic tradition is treated separately in Volume XII on *Western Asceticism*, and Anselm is included in Volume X, *A Scholastic Miscellany*. The present volume contains selections from what is left, which is of course considerable.

There is sufficient remaining, in fact, to give this volume the character of another "miscellany" — or a "sampler" of early medieval theology. The material is arranged under four headings ("The Nature of Divine Truth," "God's Word in Holy Scripture," "The Voice of the Preacher," and "Ideals of the Priesthood") and it is understandable that no one of these could be treated in other than a representative manner in the confines of one volume.

As a volume on medieval *theology*, the resulting limited coverage is particularly noticeable in the first section, which contains selec-

tions concerned directly with doctrinal issues. The Eucharistic controversy is introduced with the works of Paschasius Radbertus and Ratramnus on *The Lord's Body and Blood*, but there is no opportunity to follow the developments of this debate in the primary material given. Fortunately, the introductions indicate briefly the significance of the writings in relation to earlier and later views. Similarly, the topics of predestination (*A Reply to the Three Letters*, anonymous) and Pelagianism (*The Commonitory*, Vincent of Lerins) are introduced but are not followed up with related selections. Since the selections were made according to type, rather than topic, it is apparent that the editors were not attempting to trace doctrinal developments through the choice of primary material. Other volumes in the series are amenable to such use, however, and many readers may wish it were true of this one since early medieval source material is not readily available in English.

Because of the nature of the collection, the introductions are especially important. The sections edited by Cabaniss are the more helpful in relating the author and writing to the period. In some instances, critical discussions of disputed points could profitably have been abbreviated in favor of a fuller depiction of the historical context, especially in view of the fact that this series is intended for the non-specialist.

The claim that the material was chosen for its intrinsic worth would seem to be especially true of the last three groups, while the doctrinal writings could be at least equally well justified on the basis of their historical importance. The commentaries, sermons and selections on the priesthood make good the publisher's statement that "through the whole of this volume can be seen the light of Christian truth raised high in the hands of sincere and devoted churchmen, endeavoring to preserve the faith as they received it and to pass it on to their flocks and their successors." Due to the profuse use of scripture, the sermons have an almost timeless quality — except that the way scripture is used is itself a reflection of the period. In some cases the biblical quotations comprise the greater part of the sermon. The words of the preacher serve mainly as connecting links for a collation of scripture passages.

Whatever the limitations of the volume — and they are largely unavoidable if one volume is to include such a variety of selections — it will be gratefully received by English reading

people interested in the Middle Ages. Many will read for the first time: Vincent of Lerins' test of orthodoxy, *in context*; an early statement of the four senses of scripture (Guibert of Nogent) still prominent in the time of the Reformation; and medieval writings having special relevance for Reformation and post-Reformation developments, such as Ratramnus' *Christ's Body and Blood*, Rupert's *On the Victory of God's Word*, two sermons by Ivo of Chartres who is included in Flacius Illyricus' *Catalogue* as a pre-Reformation witness to Reformation views, and Agobard of Lyons' *On Divine Psalmody* with its "Puritan-like" emphasis on biblical purity in liturgy. This work should do much to awaken interest in the centuries often referred to as the Dark Ages.

CARL FJELLMAN

Two Monographs on Predestination

DAS PRÄDESTINATIONSPROBLEM IN DER THEOLOGIE AUGUSTINS. *Eine systematisch-theologische Studie.* By Gotthard Nygren. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1956. 306 pp., DM 19.80.

DIE PRÄDESTINATION BEI HEINRICH BULLINGER IM ZUSAMMENHANG MIT SEINER GOTTESLEHRE (*Studien zur Dogmengeschichte und systematischen Theologie, Band 11*). By Peter Walser. Zurich: Zwingli-Verlag, 1957. 288 pp., Sw. Fr. 16.60.

The problem of predestination in the history of dogma has again been investigated recently, by W. Pannenberg for Duns Scotus and by Horst Beintker and Pannenberg for Luther. GOTTHARD NYGREN, lecturer at Lund University, recognizes that this problem represents the "main highway" in Augustine's theology. He believes it important to mark Augustine's teaching on predestination off from a sort of determinism conditioned by philosophy and considers furthermore that Augustine's teaching on the subject should be interpreted as an exposition of Pauline statements on predestination, consequently as a primarily theological problem and a question immediately related to Christian faith and

Christian proclamation. Predestination becomes a particular problem only when the message of God's grace in election loses its direct relation to human activity and personal decision, so that fatalism results on the one hand and the idea of universal grace becomes uncertain on the other.

Nygren attempts to state the theological difficulties connected with the doctrine of predestination in Augustine, difficulties that grew out of the Bible itself. His study is marked by a successful combination of philological and systematic method; at the same time it is almost overwhelming in its comprehensive consideration of Augustine research, whose significance the author characterizes briefly. He begins with J. Nørregaard (*Augustins Bekehrung*, Tübingen, 1923) since he placed the picture of Augustine in a new light in that he was able to demonstrate convincingly that Christ as the incarnate Word played a role in Augustine's theology from the very beginning. Nygren can therefore speak of the organic function of Christian ideas in the total context of Augustine's thought. He believes also that the absence of the term *gratia* and the rare occurrences of the concept of sin in the Cassiciacum writings do not constitute grounds for saying that Augustine concerned himself but little with the question of sin and grace. The allusion—unfortunately all too short—with which Nygren substantiates this judgment (p. 33) is quite interesting. Incarnation and grace belong together in the tradition of the early church; therefore, says Nygren, Augustine, in whose earliest writings the idea of the incarnation can be proved to be of importance, simply could not have by-passed the question of sin and grace. If Nygren is right, then this inner relationship between the incarnation and grace—which actually exists later, in Luther—would have to be applied sometime not only to Athanasian theology but also to Augustine.

The author prepares the way for a comprehensive analysis (p. 49 ff.) of *De gratia et libero arbitrio*, the work of Augustine's later years, with a brief examination of everything Augustine said relative to the large subject of "grace and free will," beginning with the dialogue *De ordine* and proceeding via *De arbitrio*. The problems of theodicy and the freedom of the will become increasingly the leitmotiv of Augustine's theological writing so that in *De diversis quaestionibus ad Simplicianum*, written at the

beginning of his episcopate, this leitmotiv is present almost with the import of the predestination problem. Nygren moves a bit too rapidly to *De gratia et libero arbitrio*; an examination of the quite underrated polemical writings against Pelagian would have been in place, however correct it is that in *De gratia* there is a singular and unique treatment of the whole problem of predestination in terms of grace and free will as coordinate factors. Through this piece, written in 426, Nygren pursues the train of thought which comes to a head in the concrete question of how Augustine's teaching on the freedom of the will, which he is obliged to defend for the sake of his theology of merit, is related to what he has to say about grace. The answering of this question ends in a paradox. The theology of merit present in Augustine would, if logically developed, lead to the suspension of a doctrine of grace truly radical in conception. Nygren accepts none of the previous attempts to interpret this paradox.

In part three he examines the Pauline background to Augustine's teaching on predestination, covering the ground from beginning to end. The result can be summarized as follows: first, Pauline theology is to be understood only in its indissoluble relation to the message about Christ, as something addressed to the individual; second, the Pauline concept of predestination is also to be understood only in the context of the proclamation of Christ. There is indeed a predestination concept in Paul; it is nothing else than an expression of the gospel of the proleptic grace of God in Christ. What one does not find in Paul, however, is a theoretical predestination problem so that the emergence of such in Augustine is to be sought in another quarter.

Although Nygren returns once more to Paul, who provided Augustine with the impulse to his conception of predestination, he turns first to the task of tracing and interpreting Augustine's intellectual development. He points out that to mark off the philosophical from the Christian tradition within Augustine's thought does not accord with the facts, since a synthesis of the philosophical and Christian tradition was precisely Augustine's concern and Christianity appeared to him to a certain degree as "natural religion." We understand what the author is driving at and will raise no counter questions.

Proceeding from this presupposition, Nygren now turns to analyzing Augustine's

main theological works in the period between 400 (the *Confessions*) and 426 (conclusion of *De civitate Dei*). In this analysis Nygren, following his methodological principle of "retrograde analysis," keeps the predestination factor always in view. By tracing the problem from its beginnings he tries to make clear how the peculiar difficulties associated with the question of predestination arose.

His study of Augustine's view of creation and its general relation to the Creator is a model piece of work. Following this he turns again (p. 288 ff.) to the narrower predestination problem in Augustine, i.e., the question of how grace can be treated under the aspect of predestination without faith and human works thereby becoming meaningless. Nygren's careful analysis disentangles Augustine's often very involved train of thought. He shows convincingly that Augustine places God's works of grace within the operation of his providence through which he governs created wills and guides his whole creation. The problem seems to become increasingly insoluble. The key to its understanding is that Augustine asserts that every person *can* possess faith and love since this possibility is rooted in the nature of man. The *possession* of faith and love, however, is possible only through grace which Augustine regards as a link — on the level of the will — in the providential governing of creation. Predestination is therefore predestination to grace while grace is the gift itself.

Nygren has succeeded in unraveling the underlying presupposition behind the rise of the predestination problem, which is — and here Nygren recurs to his exegetical study of Paul — a transformation of the biblical conception of predestination. The main spring of this transformation is what Nygren labels the "religio-philosophical" point of departure in Augustine, which he was already inclined to characterize as "Christianity as natural religion."

At the end of his work Nygren says that the great task remaining is the necessary clarification of the religio-philosophical questions underlying the predestination problem in the interest of our historical understanding of the problem and our evaluation of it from the standpoint of dogmatics. This is one of the most urgent tasks of a hermeneutics of the history of dogma in the widest sense. The author has made a valuable contribution

to it for which others besides the Augustine specialists owe him a vote of thanks.

PETER WALSER begins his work with an introduction to Bullinger research and a survey of the sources, followed by a brief portrait of Bullinger, the preacher and pastor, who as Zwingli's successor was a popular speaker and beloved minister. The first part of his monograph is a treatment of Bullinger's doctrine of God, under the title "The Triune God." He first assembles from Bullinger's writings his statements about God based on the Old Testament and then shows how Bullinger sees God's full revelation coming through Christ so that God's revelation in Christ is also fundamentally antecedent to his revelation of himself in his works. Finally, he treats Bullinger's teaching on the Trinity. It is safe to say that in his doctrine of God Bullinger in no way evinces original theological thinking; he merely aims at letting the biblical record itself speak. He is not inclined toward nor capable of systematizing. His whole concern is to be a preacher and expositor of Scripture.

In part two Walser puts down his assiduously collected materials on Bullinger's teaching on providence and predestination. Since Bullinger did not construct an abstract system Walser has to bring forward a variety of utterances, each with different accentuation. One can indeed say, however, that Bullinger is acquainted with a double decree of predestination from eternity which as a testimony to God's grace leads to eternal blessedness and as a testimony of his judgment leads to eternal damnation. The election of grace, with reference to all persons and to each individual, appears, first, in the offer of general salvation contained in the preaching of the gospel and, second, in the individual's appropriation of salvation through the power of faith, a power bestowed by God and besought and affirmed by the devout. The question of the predestination of all and of the individual is thus answered by means of God's revelation (cf. p. 162).

Walser works cleanly and clearly as he comes to the conclusion that Bullinger distinguishes between providence (the preservation and governing of creation) and predestination (which refers to the salvation or the perdition of man), although for God the two belong together. The relation between them remains a mystery; behind it stands God's eternal foreknowledge about which Bullinger does not venture to theologize. It

is quite understandable that Bullinger, with his covenant conception, does not indulge in theoretical speculation about providence but stresses instead that behind it too stands the gracious will of the Father.

Bullinger, as we have said, posits a double election. Only to God himself however falls the separation of the elect from those who are cast off. The church is to hear the Son and receive him as the mediator of God's sonship on the basis of God's loving care and his decree of predestination. The mystery of God leads Bullinger to the doctrine of predestination to damnation; the revelation granted by God leads him to praise of God's grace, active in election and revealed in the work of salvation. Both belong together and force themselves upon Bullinger, not as a philosophical determinist but as a hearer of the word.

With his study Walser has succeeded in leading us to appreciate the particular concern of this Reformed church father.

FRIEDRICH W. KANTZENBACH

Protestant, Catholic, Roman (Continued)

VEREHRUNG DER HEILIGEN. *Versuch einer lutherischen Lehre von den Heiligen.* By Max Lackmann. Stuttgart: Schwabenverlag, 1958. 162 pp., DM 4.20.

ANTWORT AN ASMUSSEN. By Heinrich Fries. Stuttgart: Schwabenverlag, 1958. 154 pp., DM 4.20.

In the December number of this journal this reviewer examined, under the same title, a number of books which concerned themselves with the relation between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant churches and their theologies, among them Hans Asmussen's *Rom-Wittenberg-Moskau* and Max Lackmann's *Hilferuf aus der Kirche für die Kirche*. Since that time two further works have appeared from the same publisher, indeed with the same format, which are closely related to those reviewed previously.

In his latest piece of writing MAX LACKMANN continues his efforts to lead his church, i.e., the Lutheran church, to a new and fuller understanding of its faith and to a recovery of lost truths of faith and confession.

The question of the veneration of the saints within the Protestant church has become a live issue through various recent publications, not the least of these being the new liturgy books in the Protestant church in Germany. Against this background of various efforts in this direction, Lackmann wants to attempt a Lutheran hagiology based on Lutheran and Reformation foundations. In comparison to earlier publications by the same author one can say (1) that his argumentation is considerably more cautious, (2) that he comes up with well founded considerations based partly on abundant source material and (3) that he writes, as we have said, against a background of some efforts, even official ones, to secure a place again for the remembrance of the saints in the life and piety of the church. One will have to concede these points to him even if one does not find it possible to go along fully with his arguments.

The *cultus sanctorum*, so runs his main line of argument, is the consummation of the bond between the *ecclesia triumphans* and the *ecclesia militans*, the tie binding the departed members of the body of Christ with those still on earth. The *cultus* follows from New Testament *soma Christou* thinking and also from the doctrine of the Lord's Supper insofar as the Sacrament of the Altar is *koinonia*. In addition Lackmann teaches a vicarious intercession of the saints in heaven, an intercession that follows from the ministry of Christ and is nurtured by it.

Now the emphasis of his book does not indeed lie upon a systematic carrying out of his main line of argument but upon a type of proof from tradition. On the basis of a detailed presentation of his historical sources Lackmann shows that the idea of intercession by the saints and veneration of the saints by the *ecclesia militans* is by no means so strange to the Lutheran church and its theology as the reticence of the confessions and the vacuum in the worship and piety of the church would actually seem to indicate. There is in Lutheranism a conception of a communication in the Spirit with the *ecclesia triumphans*, the "world above," which should find expression also in the service of worship and especially in Holy Communion, says Lackmann. By reason of the new understanding of the veneration of the saints, a genuine Protestant practice of the same must, to be sure, differ from Roman practice with its patron saints

for help in times of trouble and its other abuses, as well as from the mere pedagogical and edifying remembrance of the saints (to strengthen faith and offer us an example to follow) as this was practiced in the Reformation and set down in the Augsburg Confession, Article XXI.

The chief witnesses brought forward by Lackmann in support of the necessity and the right to existence of a *cultus sanctorum* in the Lutheran church—as such a *cultus* follows from the part this church has in the *ecclesia triumphans*, as it follows from the communication in the Spirit between the *ecclesia militans* and the *ecclesia triumphans* and from the intercession of the saints (which is to be understood christologically, to be sure)—are the young Luther (to whom Lackmann devotes a special chapter), Johann Gerhard (in his controversy with Bellarmine) and Wilhelm Löhe. Luther's statements on the intercession of the saints are by no means a Roman Catholic remnant, says Lackmann; they presuppose his discovery of the meaning of the righteousness of God and of justification by grace alone and are connected with these in thought. The intercessory and vicarious work of the saints, far from diminishing the merits of Christ, are to be understood only on the basis of these merits, and, finally, the veneration of the saints is veneration of Christ himself. Although Lackmann does not ascribe to the saints any part in Christ's work of satisfaction yet he *does* say they participate in his work of intercession.

Lackmann is here treating what is in the last analysis an article of our faith that has never been settled; yet various questions remain unanswered. It is correct (and the historical sources that Lackmann adduces can hardly be refuted) that there was taught in Lutheranism an intercession of the saints in heaven on behalf of the saints on earth and, as a corollary, a *cultus sanctorum*. But the question still remains unanswered how one can explain the fact—conceded by Lackmann—that these things have never borne any fruit either in the official confessions of the Lutheran church or in the worship and piety of the Reformation. Is it to be explained only by the antithesis—a justified antithesis—to Roman abuses? Or only by the predominance of a one-sided view of the lives of the saints with emphasis on the pedagogical and edifying aspects, which finally fully effaced any consciousness of a communication with the world above? Or

do we have here, at bottom, things which are indeed "not to be regarded on a level with Holy Scripture but are good and useful," things whose absence indeed involves no significant loss of substance?

Finally, in criticism of Lackmann's book we might note that he too hastily draws conclusions from his exegesis without furnishing adequate proof of them. So he should at least have documented his theses from a detailed analysis of the *soma Christou* and *koinonia* concepts in the New Testament. Here one has the sneaking suspicion that Lackmann is begging the question. Furthermore, it would have been helpful to have an analysis of the Lutheran church orders with respect to the saints' days and the manner of their celebration as well as their foundation (which is sometimes different in different cases and occasionally at variance with Article XXI of the Augsburg Confession). We concede to Lackmann that a *cultus sanctorum*, as he understands such a *cultus* (and here he is most certainly not alone), is not in contradiction with the fundamental article of faith of the Lutheran church. Yet the last and very likely decisive question remains: According to the Protestant interpretation of the matter, just who are these saints — are they other than or one with the *hagioi* of the New Testament?

HEINRICH FRIES's "answer to Asmussen" is not a reply to Asmussen's *Rom - Wittenberg - Moskau* itself but only to the five "Questions addressed to the Roman Church" which that book contains. Disregarding on principle all political questions and questions affecting ecclesiastical policy, he confines himself to a discussion of the questions that have to do strictly with theological issues dividing Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. In our opinion he has performed an invaluable service to the cause.

The drift of his argument is roughly that certain questions addressed to the Roman church are thoroughly justified for it too is an *ecclesia semper reformanda*; everywhere within her one sees today outcroppings, obviously erroneous developments and obscurings of the truth which must be overcome in order to break through to the fullness of revelation which, to be sure, is preserved in the Roman church — and only there. One reads sentences, such as the following one, which every Lutheran theology could assert with respect to its confessional writings: "A theology which rested upon Denzinger

and attempted nothing more than the transmission of the same ... would be ill advised ... it must ... maintain in a fresh and vital condition what has been set down and deposited, through continued stimulation from the sources of revelation" (p. 65). One also reads, to be sure, that some of the just concerns of the Reformation were realized in the Roman church while in the church of the Reformation itself they have receded into the background.

This judgment — to proceed to particular observations — finds expression in the reply to Asmussen's first question, the relation between word and sacrament. If the sacramental character of the word is lost, says Fries, it leads also to an impoverishment of the sacraments as word and proclamation. It is correct, he says, that in the Roman church the sacramental character of the word has not received proper expression; but on the other hand, according to Roman interpretation the sacraments are also proclamation, kerygma drawing upon the sources of revelation, just as the entire liturgy in general.

On Asmussen's second question, the coupling of theology and philosophy in Roman Catholicism, Fries is of the opinion that it follows from the incarnation that the contents of revelation and faith must be comprehended in concepts, i.e., in philosophical categories and schematizations. Thus philosophy does theology a service, it does not dominate theology (it does dominate, however, says Fries, when existentialist categories are made into a hermeneutical principle for the interpretation of the New Testament, as in Bultmann, e.g.). These categories are replaceable and can be exchanged for others when it is seen that they no longer faithfully reproduce the content of theology and no longer render it intelligible. Therefore the Roman church has held fast to the "of one substance with the Father" [*consubstantialis patri*] in the Nicene Creed and also to transubstantiation in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

We acknowledge what Fries says but we must confess that it does not yet enlighten us as to why Aristotle is — without contradiction to the present day — the normative philosopher in Roman Catholic dogmatics. We would say, in contradiction to Fries, that *consobstantialis* is an inadequate rendering of the Greek *homoousios*, and, on the other hand, that the substance concept is no longer adequate nor intelligible as a category for

describing the contents of revelation in question.

The third question is that of justification. Here other authors (e.g., Hans Küng or Walther von Loewenich, from whom Fries quotes) have already established that there is in fact a certain consensus on the article of justification. Fries is of the same mind. He emphasizes that the idea that grace cannot be earned has been the general Roman view since Thomas Aquinas. This demands of us, in the first place, a critical examination of our own position. But if we acknowledge the existence of a consensus on justification, it also calls next for discussion on the doctrine of grace.

The fourth question — and the only place where Fries also touches upon political issues (p. 97 ff.) — is concerned about the relation between law and freedom. The church, says Fries, is the place where the freedom given by Christ is realized. To be sure, this does not exclude ecclesiastical authority and the limiting of freedom by the church, for the church is an articulated organism in which, by divine law, there must be authority. And since it "lives in time and history and . . . must be realized in the fellowship of limited, weak and sinful men," it can always limit and indeed even do violence to freedom.

Our comment is that once a certain consensus is reached on the question of freedom (for what Fries says here could just as easily have been found in the study document for the Minneapolis LWF assembly), then the disagreement between Roman Catholics and Protestants on the concept of the church becomes evident and discussion of the freedom that has been won by Christ will have to be conducted along ecclesiological lines. In other words: the originators of the theme of the Minneapolis assembly acted rightly when they connected the idea of freedom with the concept of the church. In going into Asmus-

sen's question Fries grants, to be sure, that in the Roman church one meets with a certain propensity to be legalistic but that, according to Aquinas, the law of the new covenant is nothing other than the grace of the Holy Spirit (p. 120).

In the last chapter Fries takes up the most controversial question today, mariology. Of course Asmussen is the representative of a "positive mariology," which did not go uncontradicted in the Protestant sphere. Fries therefore has a starting point here which he would not have with another person. He admits first that there is a school of thought in which Mary is preeminent, which cannot always be harmonized with the official, normative theology of the Roman church and which is earnestly discussed at many conferences and congresses. In addition, popular piety in the Roman church causes theology some concern (p. 140). But a distinction must be made between faith and piety, he says (p. 143); and, above all, mariology is nothing else but developed christology and it is from this vantage point that the Roman marian dogmas are to be interpreted. Of course it should be remarked here that precisely these dogmas compel us to take a stance similar to the one taken by the Reformers over against indulgences and the theology of the sacrifice of the mass.

On the whole, Fries's exposition is a gratifying one and will without a doubt contribute to the carrying on of this serious discussion at a deeper level. What we appreciate above all is that in a book bearing the imprimatur of the Roman church he has subjected himself quite openly to a Protestant critique, even if he feels that the criticism applies only to peripheral questions and not to the center of Roman doctrine and dogma. Infallible dogma has not been touched upon, it is *extra controversiam*.

HANS H. WEISSGERBER

LIFE TOGETHER

A number of the articles and reports in this number of our journal represent contributions to the dialogue with the Roman Catholic Church, some of them even coming from Roman Catholic authors. A look at the list of contributors to this number will hardly reveal among the Lutherans an author to whom "Catholicizing" tendencies could be ascribed. The same is true, obversely, of the Roman Catholic authors, who represent a theology which proceeds from a sober recognition of the realities in the church of the present day, a theology far removed from what Father Weigel in his article calls a "winsome romanticism." If one were on the basis of these contributions to retrace the line along which discussions between Protestants and Roman Catholics are today being carried on, he would have little reason to hope that the next few years will bring any changes worth mentioning. The problems seem to be clearly stated. Every step beyond the mere statement of the problem could be equivalent to a self-surrender by one or the other of the two parties. No one wants this or is indeed capable of it; sometimes one even gets the impression that neither party would even be willing that the other commit such an act of self-surrender. In any case the mutual respect outweighs any missionary zeal. This gives the discussions their chivalrous character—but also their fatal quality. Each convinces the other that as far as he himself is concerned he can be no other than he is; each refuses to try and convince the other that he must change.

On both sides the theological declarations appear to have fallen into the service of the status quo. They provide present-day church life and piety with pious or even clever thoughts and phrases and for what remains they refer us to the general constituents of the world in which we live, a world in which nothing can really change since any change carries with it the possibility of a great catastrophe. Can present-day Christianity really pray the prayer of the early church that the Lord's kingdom might come and this world pass away? In any case we live in a time in which it is possible to perceive something of the "rumblings of God"—to use an expression of Luther's—in the changes that take place. It would be singular if in such a period precisely the church would have so much to say about yesterday, so little for today and very likely nothing at all for the morrow.

To direct such questions at another person or at another confession would be to misconstrue them. It is up to us to answer them ourselves, entirely on our own, as Protestants and perhaps even in a special way as Lutherans. In any case it is not our place to confront our Roman Catholic neighbors with them. And yet it is precisely in our discussions with them that we cannot ignore the great transformations of our age. Throughout the world Christians of the various confessions now live in closer proximity to and in closer relations with one another than ever before. In many regions of the globe it is not possible to appropriate the answer developed in the United States to denominational pluralism whereby a strict separation is made between the public and private spheres—religion belonging to the latter—even should this solution appear acceptable to American

Christians themselves in the long run. In contrast to the United States, most other countries have had in the past geographical boundaries, more or less clearly fixed, between different churches and confessions. Religious discussions across these borders were conducted only at very high levels; encounters between people living within the particular areas were rare exceptions. Today it is possible to close off areas in this way only at the cost of much effort and by force, and where this happens there are no real prospects that the arrangement will last or that it will be any credit to Christianity. Where it does not happen, there those who are inclined to follow the advice of the theologians are a desperately small minority. In Germany mixed marriages between Roman Catholics and Protestants are supposed to constitute about 25 per cent of all marriages and it is said that the number is still rising—despite all the warnings which are not lacking on both the Protestant and the Roman Catholic side. Whom are these young people actually disobeying, God or the view currently held by the church? It may indeed be that many are indifferent to the church, but certainly not all are, and perhaps it is these few that matter, who carry the burdensome question about the right church into their lives and into their marriages.

Today Roman Catholics and Protestants live together with one another as never before since the Reformation. They must speak with one another, soberly and without any pious illusions. They owe it to their common Lord. They owe it to those many millions in this world to whom they are sent by their Lord, the indifferent, the pagans, the non-Christians—that great throng which lives between the fronts along which the status quo on both sides is maintained. This conversation will take different forms in the various lands and churches and must extend from giving prophetic witness to the truth against the other party to the acceptance of the gift of true brotherhood with him. In any case our concern should not be a tried and tested apologetics but the following of our Lord Jesus Christ and making his words our own, namely, that he gains his life who loses it for His sake and the sake of the gospel.

These words of our Lord could also have consequences for the way we conceive of the church. At any rate they are, whether we like it or not, an essential criterion when the present-day world inquires whether the church is a living reality. With all its indifference or hostility this world nevertheless has an acquaintance with certain elements of the Christian faith, as that is possible only at the end of the second millenium after Christ. Also in this respect we should at least attempt to interpret God's signs of the time.

HANS BOLEWSKI

EDITORIAL NOTES

Two of the contributions in this issue were read at a conference on ecumenism and Roman Catholicism which took place a few weeks ago at the Evangelical Academy in Loccum, Germany. They are the articles by Professor HEINZ HORST SCHREY, of Berlin, and Father JOHANNES B. HIRSCHMANN, S.J., of Frankfort on the Main. Father GUSTAVE WEIGEL, S.J., is professor at Woodstock College, Woodstock, Maryland, and Dr. GOTTFRIED HORNIG is doing theological research at the University of Lund, Sweden.

The remaining reports and the book reviews have for the most part been selected to coincide with the theme of this issue, namely the theological differences between the Roman and Protestant confessions. This is especially true of the reports on Lutheranism in South America by Dr. VILMOS VAJTA, director of the LWF Department of Theology in Geneva, Dr. BÉLA LESKÓ, rector of the Facultad Luterana de Teologia in Buenos Aires, and Dr. ADOLF WISCHMANN, president of the Foreign Office of the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKiD). It is true also of the report on American Roman Catholic reactions to the Minneapolis assembly by Dr. GEORGE LINDBECK, who is professor of philosophy and historical theology at Yale University, and of the description of the Roman Catholic Johann Adam Möhler Institute at Paderborn by its director, Dr. ALBERT BRANDENBURG. The report on Lutheran missionary work in West Africa is by Dr. ARNE SOVIK and Dr. SIGURD ASKE, director and associate director of the LWF Department of World Mission. The senior representative of LWF World Service in Hong Kong, the Rev. K. L. STUMPF, has also given us a report of his work.

Other contributors to this issue are Pastor ALBERT GREINER, executive secretary of the Inner Mission of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Paris; Dr. HANS-WERNER GENSICHEN, professor of missions in Heidelberg; and Dr. LOTHAR SCHREINER, professor at Nommensen University, Pematang Siantar, Indonesia.

Book reviews have been contributed by: Dr. Per Erik Persson, Lund; Dr. Fredrick K. Wentz, Gettysburg, Pa.; Dr. Wolf-Dieter Marsch, Göttingen; Professor Hans-Werner Gensichen, Heidelberg; Professor Bengt Sundkler, Uppsala, Sweden; Dean Carl Fjellman, Upsala College, East Orange, N.J.; Professor F. W. Kantzenbach, Augustana-Hochschule, Neuendettelsau; and Dr. Hans H. Weissgerber, Geneva.

The quotation from K. E. Skydsgaard on the first page of this issue is from the conclusion of his article on "Schrift und Tradition" in *Kerygma und Dogma*, Vol. I, No. 3 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht); we should like to take this opportunity to recommend this journal to our readers.

With this issue the Imprimerie La Concorde, Lausanne, Switzerland, will be taking over the printing of the English edition of the LUTHERAN WORLD/LUTHERISCHE RUNDSCHAU. We hope thereby to be able to improve the quality of the magazine and to offer better service to our subscribers.

We also call attention to the rates listed on the inside back cover. The need to diminish the gap between production costs and revenue from subscriptions has finally compelled us to make changes in the rates in some instances.

Conference Schedule

LWF

July 7-11	Youth Leaders' Conference	Liselund, Denmark
July 14-18	Commission on Stewardship and Congregational Life	Göteborg, Sweden
July 31 - August 8	Commission on World Mission	Sigtuna, Sweden
August 7-12	International Conference on Lutheran Church Music	Oslo, Norway
August 11-16	Commission on Theology	Oslo, Norway
September 1-5	Commission on World Service	Copenhagen, Denmark
September 8-11	Commission on Inner Missions	Vienna, Austria
September 15-19	Minority Churches' Conference	Gdynia, Poland
October 16-17	Committee on Latin America	Germany
October 27-30	Executive Committee Meeting	Strasbourg, France

WCC

June 1-6	WCC, Division of Inter-Church Aid and Service to Refugees, Annual Consultation	Evian, France
June 7-10	WCC, Information Department Conference for Journalists	Bossey, Switzerland
June 10-14	WCC, Faith and Order Theological Commission on Christ and the Church, American Section	New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.
August 2-6	WCC/WCCE, Asian Youth Leaders' Consultation	Japan
August 8-11	WCC, Department on Church and Society, Consultation on Specific European Responsibilities in Relation to the Areas of Rapid Social Change	Odense, Denmark
August 8-12	WCC, Department on the Cooperation of Men & Women in Church & Society, Consultation on "Christian Perspectives on Men & Women in a Revolutionary Age"	Husmands-Skole Denmark
August 11-14	WCC, Consultation of the Department on the Laity	Nyborg Strand, Denmark
August 14-17	WCC/IMC Joint Committee	Nyborg Strand, Denmark
August 21-29	WCC, Central Committee	Nyborg Strand, Denmark
September 1-4	WCC, Consultation on the Problem of Lay Institutes in Areas of Rapid Social Change (Department on the Laity and Ecumenical Institute)	Bossey, Switzerland

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publication of the
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